

A Wisconsin fur-trader's journal, 1804-05 /

163

A Wisconsin Fur-Trader's Journal, 1804–05 By Francois Victor Malhiot

Letter to the Readers

Gentlemen 20 —It would be too venturesome a task for me to undertake to write a full and formal journal; my education is too inadequate. * * * It is true that, in the earlier years of my childhood, I could read, but no sooner had I reached the

20 Addressed to the partners of the North West Fur Company. This organization was one of the most important in the history of the North American fur-trade. It was the successor to the French trade of the Northwest, which began to revive in 1766 at the close of Pontiac's conspiracy. In 1769 the first British trader penetrated to points beyond Lake Superior, going as far as Fort Bourbon, and returning the next year with a rich harvest of furs. For the next ten years this trade continued with increasing vigor, and was extended by the efforts of Peter Pond to the Athabasca region. In 1780 the Indians conspired against the traders, several posts were attacked, and many traders' lives might have been lost, had it not been for an epidemic of smallpox that raged for two years among the natives. Meanwhile, unrestrained competition had wrought great evils, the Indians were debauched, and the traders, being without legal restraints, grew lawless. Several times, interests were pooled for a brief period. Finally, in the winter of 1783–84, a sixteen-share company was formed for five years at Montreal, of which the Frobisher brothers and Simon McTavish were agents; the other, or wintering, partners dwelt at their posts in the far Northwest. The general rendezvous was at the Grand Portage, on Lake Superior. In 1787 the partnership was renewed for nine years, with twenty shares, thus admitting some former rivals to the partnership. Under the new impetus of combination, the association grew very prosperous, trebled its capital in eleven years, and controlled not only the trade, but the entire destiny of the Northwest country. Under its auspices vast explorations were

Library of Congress

made—Alexander Mackenzie discovering in 1789 the river that bears his name, also the Arctic Ocean; in 1793 he crossed the Rocky Mountains, and reached the Pacific by land. In 1798, the association was re-formed, with forty-six shares, some of the old partners retiring, and clerks being promoted to partnership. At this time there were employed fifty clerks, seventy-one interpreters, 1120 voyageurs, and thirty-five guides. The company's operations continued until 1821, when after a nine-years' struggle with the Hudson's Bay Company, the North West sold out to the former in that year. Its successor on American soil was the American Fur Company, organized by John Jacob Astor in 1809.— Ed.

164 age of reason than idleness and pleasure prevented my going further and I have remained within my limited sphere. I write because I am ordered to write and out of submission and respect for the person who has given me the order.²¹

²¹ It was the policy of the North West Company to require the clerks in charge of a post to keep a journal of proceedings therein. L. R. Masson, formerly of Montreal, made a large collection of these Journals and letters, many of which he has published in *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (Quebec, 1889). We translate and present to our readers this journal of life at a Wisconsin post in 1804–05, taken from his work, i, pp. 223–263.— Ed.

These are notes rather than a journal. No sooner did anything happen during the course of my journey, than I at once scribbled it down anyway; sometimes in bad French, sometimes in Canadian patois. I have described the character of the principal Savages of the place to the best of my ability. I have praised the post of Lac au Flambeau and have said all I thought of every person with me.

You may perhaps find me severe in my ideas and inconsistent in my judgments, especially with regard to the Savages, and you may say that it is the effect of my hatred and bad humor. But no! May God preserve me from wishing ill to any one on earth, and I

Library of Congress

declare before Heaven that all that is written 165 this book, is true and on the honor of a thoroughly honest man. *Honni soit qui real y pense* !

I remain, Gentlemen, Your very humble and very obedient servant. F. Vt. M. I. o. [François Victor Malhiot]22

22 François Victor Malhiot was a French-Canadian of good family, the “son of a respectable gentleman, rich in sentiment and honer.” Two of his brothers were known in the service of their country-Lieut.-Col. Pierre Ignace Malhiot, who entered the army and served in Canada, and Hon. Xavier Malhiot, representative in the canadian parliament, who died at Boucherville in 1855. François was born in 1776, being scarcely fifteen years of age when he became an artiled clerk to the North West Company. At the time of Malhiot's apprenticeship, the young clerks were required to serve five years for their expenses and £100. Since Malhiot speaks of thirteen years of travelling and eleven years of wintering, it is possible that he spent two years in coming to the upper country for the summers only, serving in the Montreal house during the winters. It is probable that his experiences were in many ways comparable to those of Gurdon Hubbard of Chicago, who has described in his *Autobiography* the life of a fur-trade apprentice some twenty-five years later (1818–23).

In 1796 Malhiot received his appointment to the upper Red River department, where apparently he remained for eight years, and where in 1799 his annual salary was £240. This was the department of Assiniboine River, which unites with Red River of the North at Winnipeg; and Malhiot was under John MacDonnell, wintering partner of the North West Company (1796–1815). The principal fort was on River Qu'appelle, with several subsidiary posts. See MacDonnell's journal in Masson, *Bourgeois*, i, pp. 267–295.

At the summer meeting of the partners in 1804, it was decided to promote Malhiot and send him to take charge of a post to the south of Lake Superior, where complaints of the clerk In charge, Charles Gauthier, seemed of sufficient importance to make some change

Library of Congress

necessary. Malhiot's experiences during the succeeding winter are here related by himself. He repaired and rebuilt the post, and his reports were sufficiently promising to cause his return to the same place for the next year, and apparently for the succeeding one.

In 1807, having become tired of the fur-trade, Malhiot determined: to retire, and resigned his position with the company. During his residence in the interior he had, in the fashion of the country, married an Indian woman. This occurred August 8, 1800, at the fort at the mouth of Winnipeg River. See Daniel W. Harmon, *Journal of Voyages and Travels* (Andover, 1820), p. 49. "This evening," he says, "Mens, Mayotte [Malhiot] took a woman of this country for a wife, or rather concubine." Upon leaving the interior, Malhiot left his Indian wife with her own people, but took with him his half-breed son, François Xavier Ignace (named apparently for himself and his own two brothers). Settling at Contrecoeur he educated his son, and lived there until his death in 1840.

Malhiot was familiarly known to his relatives and intimates as Erambert. He was a cousin of Jacques porlier of Green Bay, and for a short time after his return from the Northwest lived with the latter's maiden sisters at Verchères. He is frequently mentioned in the family letters, and several letters from him to Porlier are in the Wisconsin Historical Library; i. e., Wisconsin MSS., 3B28, 4B52, 13B42, 2C57, 90.— Ed.

166

FROM FORT KAMANAITIQUOYA TO THE MONTREAL RIVER

July 9, 1804 I left Fort Kamanaitiquoya²³ at 4 o'clock with an outfit of eleven assorted bales, twenty kegs of rum double strength, four kegs of powder, five bags of shot and bullets, half

²³ This word has had many spellings. The accepted form is Kamimistiquia, and is said to signify "river with many islands" or "river that flows around"—the Kaministiquia entering Lake Superior by three mouths. It is one of the oldeSt sites on that lake. Radisson and Grosseilliers are supposed to have passed here in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Library of Congress

Duluth built the first trading post on this site in 1678, probably at the point where the later posts were found, on the north side of the north branch, a half mile above the mouth. The second French post was established here in 1717, by Zacherie Robutel, sieur de la Noue, who remained in command until 1721. Thenceforward it became an important station, both as gateway to the farther West, and for the amount and quality of furs secured. In 1743 the post was leased for 3000 livres. In 1757 the price had increased to 4000 livres, and every year it sent out from sixty to seventy packs of fine furs. About this period Kaministiquia was abandoned, and when the English reopened the fur-trade on Lake Superior, Grand Portage, sixty miles to the southwest, became their headquarters. After the American Revolution, it was found that the North West Company's post at Grand Portage was on American territory, and attempts were made to open various routes to the interior waters. It was not until 1798 that Roderick McKenzie rediscovered the Kaministiquia route, and thereupon it was decided to remove headquarters thither. The new fort was begun in 1801, and in the summer of 1804, when Malhiot was present, was about completed.

The name Fort William was not bestowed upon it until 1807. Fort William was for twenty years the centre of Western activity. It covered an area of fourteen acres, was surrounded by high pickets, and contained many buildings, chief of which was the great hall where the partners met and dined. Thither the agents of the company came each year from Montreal, to meet the wintering partners from the far interior. There the business of the year was transacted, the accounts made out, assignments arranged for the ensuing year, and outfits put up for clerks and partners. The classic description of Fort William is found in Washington Irving's *Astoria*. After the amalgamation with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, the glory of Fort William departed. It was, however, still maintained as a post, and around it was a small settlement of retired employees. This is now a town of 7000 inhabitants, one of the stations on the Canadian Pacific Railway. Vestiges of the old fur-trade post and its buildings are yet to be seen.— Ed.

Library of Congress

Autograph letter by François Victor Malhiot Photographic reduction of original, in
Wisconsin Historical Library

167 a bale of kettles, a case of guns, twelve traps and four rolls of tobacco,²⁴ the whole entrusted to my care by M r William Mac Gillivray²⁵ to be traded for furs in the Department of Montreal

²⁴ Compare the outfit of Alexander Henry the younger, described in his journals in Elliott Coues, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest* (New York, 1897), p. 7.—Ed.

²⁵ William McGillevray was at this time one of the chief agents of the North West Company resident at Montreal. He had served his apprenticeship in the field, going out first as clerk. and becoming a wintering partner in 1790, after buying out the interest of Peter Pond. His aptitude for the business was so great, that in 1797 he became one of the agents, and it was his duty to visit the upper country every year, and make the settlements and assignments for the succeeding year. For this purpose he had a special canoe of his own, manned by expert voyageurs who took pride in passing all brigades on the Ottawa River. McGillevray was popular with his colleagues and employees, and was very successful in keeping up the efficiency of the company. After 1804 he was its recognized head, and as such was frequently consulted by the government, especially after the War of 1812–15, in regard to new posts in the Northwest. In 1814 he was appointed legislative councillor, and having amassed a considerable fortune was one of the prominent men of Montreal. But his sympathies turned to his native land, and in 1818 he bought an estate in Argyleshire, where he retired from active life, dying in 1825 from the effects of hardships endured in the Northwest trade.— Ed.

168 River.²⁶ Moreover, I was supplied with as many French provisions as a proprietor might have wished for, * * * four hundred pounds of flour, two barrels and a half of pork, forty pounds of biscuit, a Keg of shrub (rum), a Keg of high-wines, two of sugar, four pounds of tea, a ham, bread, butter, etc. etc. The heavy wind compelled me W land at

Library of Congress

the entrance of Lake Superior; there I found Corbin,²⁷ one of Mr Cadotte's²⁸ clerks. My toothache got worse.

26 The term Department of Montreal River appears to be a new one in the North West Company's nomenclature. In the assignments of 1799, all the southern border of Lake Superior is classed together. Malhiot's expedition is apparently a new venture on the company's part—there had been trading here before, but not in charge of a person of the grade of clerk, who reported directly to headquarter.— Ed.

27 The author means that he got no farther than the mouth of Kaministiquia River, where he was storm-bound.

Jean Baptiste Corbin, a young Canadian of good family, born in 1776, had received some education before entering the employ of the North West Company in 1796. He was assigned to the Lake Superior department and entered the service of Michel Cadotte, who in 1800 sent him to establish a post on Lac Court Oreille. There he married a Chippewa woman, and had much influence with his Indian neighbors. In 1808, during the excitement caused by the efforts of Tecumseh and the Prophet, Corbin's post was plundered, he being obliged to flee through the woods to Chequamegon. This was partly due to an indiscretion on his part, He soon after returned, and passed the remainder of his life at this place. In 1818 he was taken into the employ of the American Fur Company, and in 1824 aided in suppressing hostilities on the part of the Indians. He was living at Lac Court Oreille as late as 1852. See *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v, Index.— Ed.

28 Michel Cadotte of La Pointe; see *ante*, p. 69, note 98.— Ed.

11th Wednesday. My people took only 2 Dorés in their nets.²⁹ I left my camp after we had cooked a meal. At half

29 Elliott Coues identifies this fish. known to the French as *poisson doré*, as the wall-eyed pike-perch (*stizostedion vitreum*).— Ed.

Library of Congress

169 past five, after traveling two hours the wind compelled me to camp. * * * By all the devils, my toothache will not leave me.

12th Thursday. I started this morning at four o'clock. At eleven o'clock I met an unloaded canoe of X Y but could not find out where it was going.³⁰ At noon I passed the Grand Portage³¹ where X Y's schooner was weighing anchor. A

³⁰ The great success of the North West Fur Company provoked rivalry and emulation. In 1798 a company was formed to oppose this powerful monopoly, but it was only by dissension within the ranks of the Nor' Westers themselves that efficient opposition could succeed. In 1799 much dissatisfaction was expressed with the haughty bearing and tyrannical methods of the chief agent, Simon McTavish. Accordingly, Alexander Mackenzie withdrew from the company, and going to England published his book of travels. For the discoveries therein recorded he was knighted, and received much honor. Returning to Canada in 1801 he formed a partnership with the North West Company's rivals, Richardson, Forsyth & Co. of Montreal, and Phyn, Inglis & Co. of London, to carry on the fur-trade. This company was usually spoken of as the X Y Company, probably because these letters succeeded in the alphabet the W of the North West Company's name. It was sometimes known as the New Company, and often as Alexander Mackenzie's. For three years the competition was severe, the X Y employees following the Nor' Westers, placing forts beside theirs, securing Indian favor and trade by various means, and vastly damaging the trade monopoly. Further in this journal, we shall see results at Lac du Flambeau. In July, 1804, McTavish died, and occasion for the opposition having ceased, in November of the same year the two companies united, to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. See the agreement in Masson, *Bourgeois*, if, pp. 482–499.— Ed.

³¹ The term Grand Portage was first applied to the nine-mile carry between Lake Superior and a point on Pigeon River above its falls. Gradually, however, the name came to be applied only to the landing place on the shore of the lake. This is situated in a bay, too shallow for landing vessels of considerable burden. The place was well-known during the

Library of Congress

French regime, but the Kaministiquia route was more frequently used. At the beginning of the British regime, however, Grand Portage became an important centre of the fur-trade. Carver found many traders there in 1767; eight years later, Alexander Henry started thence for his tour to the interior and found it the scene of harmful competition. Thence, until the removal (1801–04) to Fort William (see *ante*. note 23), Grand Portage was the headquarters of the entire North West fur-trade, and here the company of that name built an important post. After the removal to the new fort, Grand Portage gradually sank into obscurity, having only a local importance. It is now a small post village, and fishing resort of a few whites and half-breeds, in Cook County, Minnesota. For further particulars see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 123–125, in which, however, Neill's statements are inaccurate.—Ed.

170 moment afterward I saw her outside the islands sailing in the direction of Sault Ste. Marie.³² At half past one o'clock, I saw Chorette³³ and his aide-de-camp Lalancette,³⁴ two employees of

³² The earliest sailing vessel on Lake Superior would appear to have been that of La Ronde, used for developing his copper-mining interests; see *Id.*, xvii, pp. 310–313. A similar enterprise under British auspices was inaugurated in 1770–71; see James Bain, *Alexander Henry's Travels and Adventures* (Boston, 1901), pp. 220–229. Sailing vessels for the fur-trade do not appear to have been used until the formation of the North West Company, which in 1784 petitioned for the privilege of building barks on Lake Superior. The first vessel, built in 1785, was appropriately named “Beaver,” and cost £1843. Unfortunately she could not be passed above Sault Ste. Marie, so the company had to build upon Lake Superior. where in 1787 they had a schooner of about fifty tons burden—with two others on Lake Huron, transporting goods and supplies from Detroit. See Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages* (London, 1801), pp. xxxix, xl. The X Y Company had likewise their vessel, as appears by this passage.—Ed.

³³ Simon or Simeon Chorette (Chaurette, Charrette) was a North West Company employee in the region south of Lake Superior at the close of the eighteenth century. He

Library of Congress

joined the opposition X Y Company, and as will be seen, proved an efficient rival of Malhiot at Lac du Flambeau throughout the season. After the amalgamation, he again became a North West employee. In 1818 he had entered the American Fur Company, by whom he was given charge that same year of the Lac du Flambeau post on a salary of \$1200, with goods to the amount of \$5100. The same year, his wife was the Company's trader at Keweenaw Cove. Later, Chorette retired to Green Bay, where he was engaged with the Grignons and Porlier in the fur-trade as late as 1832.— Ed.

34 Antoine Lalancette was taken into the service of the North West Company after amalgamation in 1804. In 1818 he was clerk at Lac du Flambeau for the American Fur Company.— Ed.

171 X Y for the Montreal River: they were camped and seemed to have three baggage outfits and three canoes. I camped here at la Rivière Brulée³⁵ and had my nets set. My toothache will not leave me.

35 Not the well known Bets Brulé River of Wisconsin, part of the famous portage route through the St. Croix to the Mississippi, but a small stream in Cook County, Minn., not far from Grand Portage.— Ed.

13th Friday. My men took up their nets this morning and caught two trout and a white fish. At six o'clock we started after taking a meal. At 11 o'clock the Savages of M. Mi[chel] Cadotte caught up to me and told me they had seen Chorette; who had told them one of the three canoe-loads was for the Rivière des Sauteux³⁶ one lead and a half for the Montreal River, and the other half lead for La Pointe. At three o'clock

36 For the early history of Chippewa River (Rivière des Sauteux), see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii. p. 79, note 18. The source of its western branch has been known for many years as Ottawa Lake, or Lac Court Oreilles, practically synonymous terms. This name was given because the Ottawa refuged there in their flight from the Iroquois in the middle of the seventeenth century; although only remaining a brief while they seem to have

Library of Congress

often returned to the stream for hunting. The Ottawa acquired the name of Court Oreilles (short ears) some time in the eighteenth century; not, as often stated, because they clipped their ears. but because they left them in the natural condition—that is, the lobe was not distended, or lengthened, by ornaments or weights. The Chippewa did not take possession of this region until well into the middle of the eighteenth century; their first permanent settlements appear to have been about the beginning of the British era.

Trade was first carried among them by the Cadottes, Jean Baptiste II entering this region about 1792. In 1800 Michel Cadotte had a post at Lee Court Oreilles. The clerk in charge thereof for many years was Jean Baptiste Corbin. In 1818 the American Fur Company opened trade at this place, with Corbin still in charge. By 1824 it was placed in the hands of Lyman M. Warren, who maintained the post for ten years. The reservation for the tribe was established in 1854, and there a considerable band yet dwell.— Ed.

172 in the afternoon I camped at the Grand Marais³⁷ because the Savages told me I should have good fishing there.

³⁷ Grand Marais is now the seat of Cook County, Minn., with a population of about 300. It has a fine harbor, and is still an excellent place for fishing.— Ed.

14th Saturday. We caught in the nets four fine trout, three large ciscaouettes, and a white fish.³⁸ At five o'clock I had the canoes put in the water; at noon I met a canoe from Fond du Lac, on its way to Kamanaitiquoya loaded with bark. That night I camped at Collin's winter quarters³⁹ * * *

³⁸ The trout was that known to the Great Lakes as Mackinac trout, *cristivomer namaycush*; the ciscaouette (now called siskowit) was a fat variety of the same species, now properly called *cristivomer namaycush siscowet*. This was first described by Louis Agassiz in his *Lake Superior* (Boston, 1850), p. 333. The whitefish was the common whitefish of Lake Superior, *coregonus clupeiformis*. For this information, thanks are due to Prof. George Wagner of the University of Wisconsin.— Ed.

Library of Congress

39 Probably a free trader, as no person of that name seems to have been in the North West Company employ in 1804.— Ed.

16th Monday. Yesterday the wind compelled us to camp at la Roche debout and this morning I started at 4 o'clock. At two o'clock in the afternoon I had to put ashore owing to the great violence of the wind. My toothache was so bad last night that, after trying every imaginable remedy and taking fifty drops of opium without any effect, I decided to take some rum. I swallowed at one gulp half a pint of the raw spirit, which took effect in a quarter of an hour and made me sleep until morning. My body feels broken, my jaw is tender, and I have a sensation of nausea, but my toothache has departed with the half pint of spirits.

19th Thursday. The day before yesterday I started with sails set, but at one o'clock in the afternoon I was obliged to put in at Petite Pêche because it was blowing too hard. The wind and rain continued all day yesterday, and I was unable to leave camp before 4 o'clock in the afternoon. I arrived here, at the 173 entrance of the river of Fond du Lac,⁴⁰ at one o'clock in the morning. At 4 o'clock I went to Mr Sayer's⁴¹ Fort. I found him still in bed and had the honor of breakfasting with him.

⁴⁰ Fond du Lac was a term applied not only to the end of Lake Superior, westward from Chequamegon, but also to the district drained by St. Louis River and the other tributary streams of the region. In fur-trade parlance, the Department of the Fond du Lac embraced the upper waters of the Mississippi, and the posts upon Red Cedar, Leech, and Sandy lakes. By mounting the St. Louis, there was an easy portage, via the Savanna Rivers. to Sandy Lake, a tributary of the upper Mississippi. The fur-trade took this route during the French period; just how early the British began operating upon this waterway, does not seem to easy to determine. Jean Baptiste Perrault was here with Alexander Kay in 1784, and found a North West wintering post on St. Louis River. Jean Baptiste Cadotte II was given charge of the Fond du Lac Department about 1790. He built a permanent post on the bay, where in 1796 two Indians were executed for murdering a white man. The North

Library of Congress

West Company's post was probably on the same site. Local tradition has given the place the name of "old fort;" it was at the base of Connor's Point, not far from the present gas-works of Superior. (We are indebted for this information to James Bardon, president of the Superior Historical Society.) There the early pioneers of the present city found the remains of a considerable post—several hundred feet of stockade, and the ruins of a dock of cedar logs. A visitor of 1807 describes the place as having an enclosure of several acres, surrounded by a cedar picketing; two horses and several cattle were kept, also a garden wherein was raised on three acres 290 bushels of potatoes. There were one or more Chippewa villages in the vicinity—one on the Minnesota side of the bay was designated in 1789 as a "band of robbers." The importance of the post did not consist, however, in the trade of the vicinity. It was a source of supply for the entire Fond du Lac Department, and being located on the portage between Superior and St. Louis bays, was well adapted to its purpose. This North West post was abandoned after the law of 1816 forbidding British trading-houses on American soil. The American Fur Company located their post at the present village of Fond du Lac, Minn. The remains of the old post at Connor's Point were noted by Schoolcraft and Dory in 1820; the former says that it was abandoned about six years previous to his visit. See H. R. Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal* (Albany, 1821), p. 203. — Ed.

41 John Sayer had long been connected with the fur-trade, as well as with the Fond du Lac Department. In 1780 he was at Mackinac, agent for Joseph Howard of Montreal, and the following year presented claims for goods seized for the St. Louis expedition; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, pp. 404–410. In 1784 Perrault found him at Fond du Lac. In 1797–98 he was at Cass Lake, Minn., and the following year with Jean Baptiste Cadotte on the Mississippi. In the summer of 1802 he was at Leech Lake, and by the time Malhiot met him had become & wintering partner in the North West Company, whose agreement with X Y in 1804 he signed by attorney. Sayer appears to have resided some time at Fond du Lac. A half-breed son, Guillaume Sayer, lived in the Red River country, and in 1849 his arrest caused an outbreak among the half-breeds of that region.— Ed.

He did me the favor of giving me a keg of sugar for a keg of gum, which had been given me at Kamanaitiquoya instead of a keg of sugar. At nine o'clock, I took leave of him and rejoined my men at the entrance of the river.

20th Friday. I was unable to leave the River of Fond du Lac yesterday because a heavy wind arose just as I was about to embark. I did not start until this morning and had the sails up all day. This evening we camp at the River Ciscaouette.⁴²

⁴² This stream is now known as the Siskowit (English for *ciscaouette*). It is about fifty-five miles east of Duluth, in the present Bayfield County, Wis. It was much used as a "loaded canoe" harbor, since at its entrance there is a small slough that made a safe The fine sand beach on the eastern side of the bay was a favorite harbor-camping-ground of the Chippewa. Its Indian name was Kahpukmekah, and at this place occurred the tragedy to the family of Biauswa, when killed and captured by the Outagami; see *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 127. The new town of Cornucopia is at the mouth of the Siskowit. For this information, the Editor is indebted to Hon. Samuel S. Fifield of Ashland.— Ed.

22nd Sunday. I was detained by rain and wind at my same camp the whole of the day before yesterday, of yesterday, and until noon today, and I was unable to have the canoes put in the water before three o'clock, because the lake was too rough for a long while. I went as far as Rivière à la Framboise;⁴³ I slept

⁴³ The first mention that we have thus far seen, of this stream. now known in translation as Raspberry River; it enters into a small bay just east of Point Detour, about seventeen miles from Ashland. Bayfield's chart of Lake Superior applies the name to what is now Sioux River, entering the bay just west of Madelaine Island. Dory,. however, in the account of his voyage in 1820, mentions this stream (see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, p. 201) in the same location given by Malhiot, and doubtless this was the name usually given to it by voyageurs. It is also found on a map of 1830.— Ed.

Library of Congress

Articles of Chippewa Handicraft Selected from specimens in Museum of Wisconsin Historical Society

175 there and started this morning at 4 o'clock. At 11 o'clock I arrived here at La Pointe, Mr Cadotte's Fort.⁴⁴ I decided to

⁴⁴ Cadotte's fort lay upon Madelaine Island, the largest of the: archipelago known as the Twelve Apostles—a title apparently suggested by Father Charlevoix, on whose maps it first appears (1744). Madelaine had a title of its own, of older origin, having been named St. Michel, apparently by the early Jesuits in the seventeenth century. This name persisted until the nineteenth century, when in 1820 Schoolcraft calls it "Michael's Island," doubtless thinking it had taken its name from Michel Cadotte. Several other titles for this island are found on early maps; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii. p. 410, note 2. The appellation Madelaine, not in use until the nineteenth century, is said to have arisen from the Christian name of Cadotte's wife. daughter of an important Indian chief of the neighborhood. The site of Cadotte's trading establishment was on the south end of the island, at what is now known as "Old Fort." The earlier French fort, so long commanded by Denis de la Ronde, lay about three quarters of a mile northwest; see Thomas L. McKenney, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes* (Baltimore, 1827), p. 265.

The first trading or wintering post in this region was probably built in 1659 by Radisson and Groseilliers, but this was on the mainland, to the southwest. The removal to the island was doubtless due. to its good harbor and protected position. It was a prominent post under the French regime, being usually called Chequamegon or La Pointe du Chequamegon. The last French commandant was Hertel de Beaubassin, for whom see *ante*, p. 45, note 81. The British government never rebuilt a fort at this place. The first British trader was Alexander Henry, who came in 1765 and built his house on the shore of the mainland, opposite the island; see Bain, *Henry's Travels*, p. 191. Jean Baptiste Cadotte was Henry's partner, and his sons re-established trade at this place. At what date Michel Cadotte began his island trading post, is not certain. John Johnston was; here in the latter part of

Library of Congress

the eighteenth century, but his post was on the mainland, at the village of Waubojee, whose daughter he married. Michel Cadotte resided permanently on Madeline Island as early as 1800; probably some years before this. At first an independent trader, he became associated with the North West Company, and later with the South West, or American Fur Company. Selling out in 1823 to his sons-in-law, the Warrens, the latter removed the post about 1832 to the site known as "New Fort," on the western side of the island. Around this grew up a considerable village which took the name La Pointe. It was the county seat until 1872, when that was removed to Ashland. The island is now much resorted to by summer cottagers.— Ed.

176 spend the remainder of the day there to give the men time to make themselves shoes for crossing the portage. I obtained eighteen white fish from the Savages in exchange for tobacco. I expressly forbade my people to trade their corn for fish.

24th Tuesday. This morning I started at 9 o'clock and at 11 I camped at Mauvaise Rivière⁴⁵ because the wind was too strong to allow of my continuing my journey. The son-in-law of "Les

⁴⁵ Mauvaise (Bad) River is still known by that name, which it acquired from the difficulties of its navigation. The Indian name was Muskeego. It is about a hundred miles in length, and from its upper waters easy portages are made to the Namekagan branch of the St. Croix, and to the headwaters of the Chippewa; see Doty's map in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 204. John Johnston describes this stream in his "Lake Superior," in Masson, *Bourgeois*, ii, p. 167. He speaks of the small sandy bay at its mouth, and the shore line thence to Chequamegon Point (now an island), from which it is about six miles to the river's mouth. In 1831 Schoolcraft, accompanied by Douglass Houghton and Lieut. Robert E. Clary, ascended this stream to its source. See Schoolcraft's description in *Thirty Years with Indian Tribes* (Philadelphia, 1851), pp. 363–370. His official account is in *House Ex. Docs.*, 22nd Cong., 1st sess., vol. iv.

Library of Congress

In 1845 Rev. L. H. Wheeler, Protestant missionary at La Pointe, planned an agricultural settlement near the mouth of Bad River. There the Indians had for many years been accustomed to make spring gardens, and Wheeler taught them the rudiments of civilized life. He named the settlement Odanah, and in 1854 it was set aside as an Indian reservation. Later, the Roman Catholic mission on Madelaine Island was likewise removed to the Bad River reservation, where in 1906 there were 1174 resident Indians. Considerable money has been spent in improvements, including road—and bridge-making, and the Indians receive a good income from the lease of logging privileges.— Ed.

177 Grandes Oreilles,” called Rémond, told me that they are camped at the Montreal River⁴⁶ and that “Le Genou” will not start for Lac au Flambeau for some days. There are many pigeons here. I killed 24.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ The name for this river is one of the oldest on the map of Lake Superior, and probably was assigned to it by Duluth or some of the Jesuits that preceded him. It is found on a map of 1688, and may have originated from a fancied resemblance between the bluffs at the mouth and the mountain at Montreal. Its Indian name seems to have been Kawasidjiwong. A considerable falls occurs a few yards above the mouth, which is masked by high clay banks. Above the falls there is a succession of rapids, not navigable even for canoes. Montreal River came into prominence during the boundary adjustment between Wisconsin and Michigan. It is said to have been first suggested as a boundary line by Senator William C. Preston of South Carolina, during the committee hearings on the admission of Michigan. According to the map used by Preston, Montreal River took its rise in Lac Vieux Desert, and very near the source of Menomonee River of Green Bay. Upon survey in 1840 this was found incorrect (see report of surveyor T. J. Cram in *Senate Docs.*, No. 151, 26th Cong., 2nd sess., vol. iv). In 1847 W. A. Burt, deputy surveyor, was sent out by the federal land office to complete the survey and mark the boundary. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 471 et seq.; *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxx, pp. 253–261.— Ed.

Library of Congress

47 These birds were the *ectopistes migratorius*, or passenger pigeons, which formerly migrated in such great flocks that they darkened the air, and with their weight broke the branches of trees on which they roosted. McKenney, in his *Tour of the Lakes* (Baltimore, 1827), p. 353, says that thousands perished every year in attempting to cross Lake Superior, where its width was sixty miles, Although so plentiful in the West, even up to forty years ago, the bird has now become rare, due to these accidents and the wholesale operations of pot-hunters.— Ed.

25th Wednesday. I started at half past 4 o'clock this morning from Rivière Mauvaise and arrived here, at the Portage of the Montreal River⁴⁸ at three quarters past nine o'clock. There 12

48 The Montreal River portage trail commenced on Lake Superior, east of the mouth. After proceeding six or seven miles, over the river's eastern bluff, it reached the stream at a point above the falls; here crossing the river, the path continued up the southwest (left) bank, at some distance back from the stream, apparently in order to head some of the smaller tributaries. It ended at what was then known as Portage Lake, and there the canoes were kept *en cache*. Portage Lake was probably that now known as Long Lake, in the northeastern portion of Oneida County. The best description of the portage is that given by James D. Dory, who accompanied Cass's party to Lake Superior in 1820. His journal of the trip is given in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, pp. 163–219. A letter written to Governor Cass on his return to Detroit is printed in *Id.*, vii, pp. 195–206, accompanied by a map. The trail is also indicated on a map published in 1883 by the Wisconsin Geological Survey.— Ed.

178 I found old “Les Grandes Oreilles” and “le Genou.” The latter told me he was greatly dissatisfied with the X Y's Fort. There is not a single grain of corn to eat, no ammunition, and pigeons are killed with sticks. I think, from what he said, that he must have done something wrong to Chorette, or at least have robbed him, for he said [of him], “Dog! you will be an object for pity.” The last words mean many things.

Library of Congress

I heard from one of "le Genou's" brothers, who left Lac au Flambeau a week ago, that the Savages have been on the war: path, that they are now hunting and that our people who spent the summer in the interior were to start four days ago to come and meet us.

I gave old "Les Grandes Oreilles" seven chopines of mixed rum for nothing, because every spring he gives quantities of fish to our people, when they come from the interior and moreover, he is devoted to the North-West.

26th Thursday. I ordered the men to get ready to enter the portage tomorrow. I gave each one a double handful of flour, a pound of pork and a drink of rum as a treat. * * * I gave "le Genou" 16 plus credit,⁴⁹ after many supplications and

⁴⁹ "Plus" was a term expressing the monetary unit of the fur-trade, and represented one good beaver skin; see Masson, *Bourgeois*, i, p. 7. Malhiot therefore intends to say that he gave the Indian "le Genou" (the Knee) goods on credit which were worth sixteen beaver skins. The credit system was deeply entrenched in the fur-trade, and the source of much trouble, as will be seen later in this narrative.— Ed.

179 fine promises to work for us next winter. I gave nearly as much to his brother, "La Pourceline."

27th Friday. Our people from Lac au Flambeau, Tremblé Martineau, and Le Beau,⁵⁰ arrived here at six o'clock yesterday evening with their baggage, decided to go on to M r Cadotte at la Pointe if they had not found another clerk to replace Gauthier⁵¹ They are thin and emaciated like real skeletons. They say they were more ill-treated than ever by Gauthier; that half the time they had nothing to eat, while he never passed a single day without having a good meal; that he is resolved to go and work for the X Y if he is replaced by another; further, that he has sworn to kill Racicot for having written against him, and that there would be murder before he left Lac au Flambeau; that he is resolved to pull up all the clearings, that is to say the potatoes and corn he had planted or caused to be planted; finally, that he is like a wild beast, and not a day passes without his swearing,

Library of Congress

storming, and inveighing against those who wintered with him last year. He has got only three packs of furs at the most, besides one he traded for his own goods.

50 Nothing more is known of these voyageurs than is here narrated. Martineau's name was Ambrose.— Ed.

51 Charles Gauthier was probably a son of the interpreter and Revolutionary participant mentioned *ante*, p. 5, note 17. The elder Gauthier had sons by a Winnebago wife who were older than his daughters, whose baptisms are recorded *ante*, pp. 78, 79. This son had had some education, and was employed by the North West Company before 1799 as clerk and interpreter; little is known of him, however, beyond what is recorded in this journal. He married into the Chippewa tribe, and many of the name of Gauthier still reside on Lac du Flambeau reservation and at old Fond du Lac; see Frank A. Flower, *Eye of the Northwest* (Superior, 1890), p. 43.— Ed.

I will not undertake the portage today because these men from the interior ask a day's rest. How weak they are! * * * I gave each of them a drink of shrub, two double handfuls of flour, and two pounds of pork and they began to eat with such avidity that I was twice obliged to take the dish away from them, and, notwithstanding this, if I cared for a long while that injurious consequences would result; fortunately they all escaped with slight twinges of colic.

28th Saturday. I started this morning from Lake Superior with seven of my men to proceed at once to Lac au Flambeau. I took with me a bale of merchandize, a roll of tobacco, 20 pounds of shot, 90 pounds of bullets, three quarters of a sack of corn, a barrel of rum double-strength, and all my baggage. Today we did forty pauses.⁵² I left the remainder of my things under the care and charge of Racicot. Durocher,⁵³ who has been poisoned with poison-ivy, is also with him; otherwise he would have come with me with a load. * * * My toothache is beginning again as bad as ever. * * * I gave my people a small drink of shrub.

52 During the fur-trade period, distances in the Northwest were measured by the number of pauses (pronounced *pozes*), or times that the voyageurs stopped to rest. A single pause was computed at from 600 yards to a half mile, but this depended very largely upon local conditions—the difficulty of the path, etc.; in hilly or swampy country, the pauses were shorter. They had, however, become fixed by constant usage, and each portage was spoken of as consisting of so many pauses. The long Montreal River portage was reckoned at 120 pauses, or about forty-five miles. The load of each voyageur was two packs, each of eighty to ninety pounds weight.— Ed.

53 Jacques Racicot was probably from a Boucherville family of that name, in which the name of Jacques was frequent. Urbain Durocher (Desroches) was probably from l'Epiphanie, since one of that name returned thither, having married Malhiot's abandoned Indian wife, whom he brought with him from Lac du Flambeau. After the death of Durocher, she married one Pelletier.— Ed.

29th Sunday. Today we did only 20 pauses because I suffered too much from toothache last night, and had to get my head sweated this morning which soothed the pain a little. It is now 4 o'clock in the afternoon and we are camping because several of the men are complaining greatly of pains in their legs and it is necessary to spare them. My toothache is a little better than it was in the morning. I feel weak at times, owing to my being unable to take any food. I gave my men a drink of shrub.

181

31st Tuesday. We started at seven o'clock this morning and at last, at one o'clock in the afternoon, we reached the end of the Portage;⁵⁴ the people were somewhat tired, and Bourbon had severe pains in his legs. I sent them at once to get the canoes that were cached, to have them gummed, and I made them make paddles so as to be able to start tomorrow morning.

54 See *ante*, note 48.

Library of Congress

August 2nd Thursday. I started at 4 o'clock this morning and arrived here at Fort du Flambeau at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.⁵⁵ I found Gauthier quite disconcerted, trembling, and not knowing what to say. I read him the letter from M r William McGillivray which frightened him still more and made him shed tears. I gave him all the messages from Mr McGillivray and M r Sayer, remonstrated with him in every way, after which he admitted his errors.

⁵⁵ The dates of the journal show that two days were spent in the canoe journey from Portage (Long) Lake to Lac du Flambeau. The party first made their way by a network of streams and lakes to Turtle Lake, in northwestern Vilas County; thence by short portages they reached Manitowish River (which Dory confuses with the outlet of Lac Vieux Desert); they went eighteen miles down stream to the Flambeau River, and up the last-named twenty-four miles to Lac du Flambeau. The fort stood on the north side of the lake, probably near the present Indian village, on the Lac du Flambeau reservation. This reservation, although provided for by the treaty of 1854, was not laid out and surveyed until nine years later.

Lac du Flambeau, or Torch Lake (Wauswagnining), took its name from the custom of spearing fish by torchlight. It is not one, but a group of connected or adjacent lakes. Apparently it was occupied by the Chippewa before the close of the eighteenth century. The central village and first chief of the band dwelt on this lake, which has ever since been a continuous Indian residence. In 1908, Lac du Flambeau was segregated from La Pointe, and made a separate agency; the population that year was 784, of whom the major portion lived on allotted lands. They have a day school on the reservation, and several villages, and are making progress in the arts of civilization.— Ed.

I have just made out a statement of everything that might 182 belong to the company⁵⁶ and taken possession of the garden produce. I calculated that there were three packs of furs; besides these were thirty deer, six beaver, one otter, one bear and twenty-four muskrat skins (which he says he traded for with his own goods). These I took possession

Library of Congress

of, but he will trade them at the store if he decides to pass the winter with me and will behave as an honest man should.

56 The following list was not with the journal of Malhiot, but was found by Masson among the papers of Roderick McKenzie:

"List of goods received from Gauthier, August 2, 1804: 1 chief's coat, 1 linen shirt, 1 cotton shirt, 2 ornamented caps, 1 silk handkerchief, ½ piece of ribbon, 1 looking glass with paper border, 3 large knives, 2 dozen horn combs, 1 pack of cards, 3 pairs of scissors. men's collars, ½ lb. vermilion, 8 doz. awls, 5 steels for striking fire, 12 wormers, ½ box wire for snares, 2 [boxes] medicine, 1 hat.

" *Furs* 4 bear skins, summer, 4 otter skins, summer, 6 marten skins, summer, 218 muskrat skins. 20 lbs. beaver-skins, 100 red deer skins.

"Tools and utensils of the Fort: 4 old axes, 3 augers, 7 old kettles, 1 hand-saw, 1 plane. 1 hatchet-hammer, 1 piercer, 1 funnel, 1 old spigot, 2 old quart measures, 2 old half-pint measures, 1 old gill measure, 5 tomahawks, 1 pair spear-heads, 1 old grenadier gun, 1 pistol, 1 old Bank line, 6 old nets only one of which can be used. 2 old rasps, 2 old files, 1 mattock, 1 hammer. Three old bark canoes fit only for carrying sand or earth.

"(Signed) F. Vt. Malhiot."

We are here without bread or biscuit and wait on Providence. 3rd Friday. This morning I proposed to Gauthier to go and winter at Latonagane.⁵⁷ I told him I would give him a small

⁵⁷ Ontonagon River is one of the best-known streams on the south shore of Lake Superior. Rising in the small lakes of the interior, near the watershed between the Mississippi and Lake Superior drainage basins, it collects numerous tributaries into two branches, which unite eighteen miles above the lake, into which the river pours a considerable volume of reddish, turbid water. It is navigable for canoes for over thirty miles in high water, and connected by easy portages with the source of Wisconsin River. In

Library of Congress

Malhiot's day, a comparatively small, insignificant village of Chippewa dwelt at its mouth, and was closely connected with the Lac du Flambeau band, so that the trade was usually conducted from that point.

The early fame of Ontonagon River was due to the copper found upon its banks; although the first known mention of the stream alludes to the large sturgeon fishery near its mouth. As early as 1665 reports of copper mines were sent out from Lake Superior by voyageurs and Jesuit missionaries. In 1668 a considerable nugget was sent first to the intendant Talon, and later to the king in France. Hence, on one of the earliest maps, the river is designated "Nantononagon or Talon," but the latter name soon disappeared. Aside from the nuggets of copper found, there was a large boulder of virgin copper lying upon the banks of the Ontonagon, some twenty-five miles above its mouth. This caused the French to believe that a copper mine might be discovered in the near vicinity. In 1735 Denis de la Ronde, then commandant at Fort Chequamegon, asked the French government for experts to aid in locating these mines; see report of one Corbin in *Wis. Hist. Coils.*, xvii, pp. 237–240. Three years later, two German miners, father and son, named John Adam Forster, explored this vicinity at the instance of La Ronde, and made favorable reports thereon; *Ibid.*, pp. 306–315. But a fierce Indian war and the subsequent death of La Ronde, ended the mining projects of the French in the Lake Superior district. The earliest English attempt was that of Alexander Henry and his partners in 1772; see Bain, *Henry's Voyages*, pp. 225–229. Douglass Houghton, in his famous geological report of 1841, alludes to this effort, and the lack of scientific knowledge shown in making locations. From Henry's time until the advent of Americans upon Lake Superior, no further effort was apparently made to explore for copper mines. Cass's expedition of 1820 ascended Ontonagon River to the "copper rock," as is graphically described by Schoolcraft in his *Narrative*, pp. 171–188; Governor Cass lost his way, however, and did not reach the rock. Schoolcraft appends a view of the rock and the river banks at this place. In 1841–43 an enterprising merchant of Detroit succeeded in removing the rock from its place and carrying it down the lakes. He purchased permission for this enterprise from the

Library of Congress

Ontonagon Chippewa, whose chief he denominates as Okondokon. The government made claim to the rock, however, and it was removed to the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, where it now rests. In 1842 the Chippewa disposed of their land on Lake Superior to the government, and mining claims upon the Ontonagon River at once began to be filed. The later history of copper-mining in this vicinity is well-known. The modern town of Ontonagon, with 1600 inhabitants, now lies at the mouth of the stream, on the site of the old Indian village.— Ed.

183 outfit without rum, but he would not consent because he says there will be too much hardship there. He asked me to send 184 him to the River des Sauteux to work against La Lancette, but I told him he would get no goods from me for that purpose, and that I had other persons to send there. He then told me he would go and winter with his wife's relatives and would obtain goods from Little Mi[chel] Cadotte.⁵⁸ I am to give him a small canoe with food and ammunition to enable him to go there. He complained very much of my having taken possession of the garden produce.

⁵⁸ Michel Cadotte Jr. was born at his father's trading post on Chippewa River, just above Chippewa Falls, in 1791. During the War of 1812–15 he served with the British forces, especially acting as guide and interpreter in the capture of Mackinac in 1812. He was afterwards in the battle of the Thames, where he was wounded and lost one arm. He continued in the Indian trade, and in 1843 Alfred Brunson met him at his brother-in-law's post on the Chippewa River. He was living at La Pointe as late as 1852. His nephew, William Warren, in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp. 372–377, tells an interesting story of young Cadotte interpreting for the chief Keeshkenum (his grandfather) at Mackinac, when the latter asserted his adherence to the American cause, but desired to remain neutral in the war.— Ed.

I have just sent Bazinet to a place three hours' march from here where some of X Y's Savages are who have provisions. My men are resting today; tomorrow they will start to carry the things over the portage. All the clearings I have been able to see, look well. I got

Library of Congress

all the meat and furs Chorette's brother-in-law could, have, and my men learned there was a rumor that the Savages wanted to go on the war-path.

4th Saturday. Bazinet arrived this morning with old *Plat Côté* who gave me some quarters of deer-meat and some deerskins in exchange for rum. My people start at once for the Montreal portage. George Yarns will command the march and Racicot have charge of the goods. Today I am sending Bazinet to Ouisseconsaint⁵⁹ to try and get the Best skins from the Savages and also a small quantity of wild rice. He takes with him a small assortment of goods and three fourths of a keg of rum,

⁵⁹ Probably somewhere in the vicinity of Tomahawk Lake, the nearest point on the Wisconsin River to Lac du Flambeau. The form Quisconsaint is a rare phonetic spelling for this stream.— Ed.

185 double strength. I am sending Bourbon with him because he has pains in his legs and is unable to do his duty in the portage, and I remain to keep the fort with Beaulieu, a Montreal man, who has decided to spend the winter with me, after promising me not to drink any rum, to work like an honest man, and not to set foot on the X Y premises during the winter.

5th Sunday. Yesterday evening I got twelve deer skins from old *La Pierre à affiler* in exchange for some rum. He assured me had had nothing more and would have nothing to give his son-in-law Chorette if he came. I am sending Gauthier and Beaulieu to one of the sons of old *La Chouette* to get what furs and provisions he may have. I remain alone in the Fort and my loneliness may be imagined.

6th Monday. Gauthier returned last night without having been able to see the Savages. This morning I got the meat of a bear from old *La crémaillère*.

Bazinet and Gauthier made me pass with the Savages as M r M c Gillivray's brother and as one of the proprietors of the Company. This has had a very good effect so far, for they never call me anything but their "Father." I am inclined to think they will respect me more

Library of Congress

than they would otherwise have done, and will deem it an honor to trade with me next winter. Therefore, far from reprimanding Bazinet and Gauthier and forbidding them to say such things, I approved of what they had done and I have reason to hope that the gentlemen will find nothing wrong in it and not be disgraced by my temerity, for it; is in their interest. My only object in this is to obtain good returns and not the glory of passing for what I am not. Moreover, if I deem myself honored by passing as the brother of the chief agent of the North and the partner of his partners, they, on the ether hand need not consider their dignity in any way disgraced or vilified, for I am the son of a respectable gentleman and rich in sentiment and honor.

8th Wednesday. The wife of old "La Chouette" came last evening and made me a present of four pieces of dried meat. I am sending a brasse of tobacco to her husband to distribute among his children and his people.

186

Until now, owing to lack of time and to sickness, I have been unable to make any observations on the country and the Savages, but as I am better today I will begin by saying that of all the spots and places I have seen in my thirteen years' of travels, this is the most horrid and most sterile. The Portage road is truly that to heaven because it is narrow, full of overturned trees, obstacles, thorns, and muskegs. Men who go over it loaded and who are obliged to carry baggage over it, certainly deserve to be called "men."

This vile portage is inhabited solely by owls, because no other animal could find a living there, and the hoots of those solitary birds are enough to frighten an angel or intimidate a Caesar.

As to Lac du Flambeau it is worthier of the name of swamp than of lake and at this season it would be easier to catch bullfrogs in the nets than fish. I have had the nets set three times since my arrival without catching a fish. Today I am sending Gauthier to cast his nets in another lake; perhaps we shall get some craw-fish. With regard to the river I will

Library of Congress

never call it anything but a small stream, because in many places a mouse could cross it without wetting its belly. * * * All the Savages I have seen so far seemed to me to be good providers;⁶⁰ another time, when I shall have seen them all, I will speak of them more at length.

⁶⁰ The French is, “faire de bon *Besthia*.” This must be a local word. Not one of our dictionaries (including those of Canadian, Breton, and Norman patois) has it. It may come from *bestial*, *bestiaux*, cattle. I have translated it good providers (i.e., good cattle, or useful people for us). Further I translate the same word as “Brutes.” This is of course but conjecture.— Crawford Lindsay, translator.

9th Thursday. *Le Petit Forgeron*, a Savage from the Vieux Désert⁶¹ came here yesterday evening. I traded with him and

⁶¹ The term Vieux Désert has often been mistranslated as Lake of the Desert, “the old deserted place,” etc. Doty was more nearly correct in speaking of it, as “Old Plantation;” see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 202. The term in Canadian-French means an old clearing, and was translation in its turn of the Indian term *Gete Kitigan*—old land under cultivation. The remains of cultivation can still be seen on the principal island in this lake, upon which the Wisconsin-Michigan boundary line impinges. Lac Vieux Désert is one of the oldest sites on the map of Wisconsin. It was there that in 1661 Father René Ménard waited two weeks for the Huron who had deserted him, only later to lose his life upon Wisconsin River which issues from this lake; see Henry Colin Campbell, “Father Ménard,” in *Parkman Club Papers*, No. 11. The name first appears on a map of 1718 prepared by Guillaume de l'Isle from the memoirs of those who had visited this country; it is, however, there erroneously made the source of one branch of the Chippewa (or “Bons Secours”) River, and it was so represented throughout the French period. In 1820, Doty makes it the source both of one branch of the Chippewa, and the Menominee of Green Bay. The map used by the makers of the boundary between Michigan and Wisconsin gave Lac Vieux Désert as the source of the Montreal, and it was thus made a cardinal point in the northeast boundary

Library of Congress

of Wisconsin. It was not until Cram's survey of 1840 that the true position of this lake as the source of Wisconsin River was determined. Thence it was made the starting point of the survey of 1847 that finally marked the boundary. The Indian village was apparently on the north side of the lake; Cram calls it "Katakitakon." While engaged in his survey, the chief of this band, whom he names Cashaosha, opposed his progress until given a written promise that the right of way should be purchased by the government. In reality the land had all been sold to the United States by the treaty of 1842; but the chief again threatened to oppose Burt's survey of 1847, until mollified by valuable presents. In 1854 a treaty at La Pointe allotted considerable reservation for this band, then spoken of as large and important. It is now consolidated with the band of Anse Keweenaw, living on a reservation at the latter place, on the upper peninsula of Michigan.— Ed.

187 got 4 beaver, 2 otter, one beaver and two dressed moose skins. I gave him on credit five plus of ammunition and tobacco and he is not to return until autumn. At last we have caught five carp and a Masquinongé⁶² in our nets this morning; but Gauthier had to stay out all night with Beaulieu, my Montreal man. They killed four partridges.⁶³ What a miracle!

⁶² Masquinongé is the Chippewa form of the word now usually given as muskallunge, or maskalonge. Its significance is great pike, or pickerel, and is applied to the fish known to science as *esox nobilior*, a frequenter of the northern Wisconsin lakes.— Ed.

⁶³ The "perdrix." here translated as partridge, must have been one of two birds: the Canadian spruce grouse, *canachites canadensis canace*, Linn.; or, the ruffed grouse, *bonasa umbellus*, Linn. Both are common in the pine districts, where not exterminated, and both are commonly called partridge. There is no basis to determine which of these the traders killed.—Prof. George Wagner.

188

The squirrels are doing much damage in the corn fields; they ate 77 ears last night.

Library of Congress

11th Saturday. Old "Lachouette" came here last night with his band. I gave him a small keg of four pots for nothing.

We had a great deal of trouble last night owing to the liquor. They quarreled among themselves; we quarreled with them and almost came to blows. For a trifle I would retract, did I not fear to be inconsistent, and I would say they are very bad rascals. All the Savages I had seen before them were reputed bad, knavish, and addicted to thieving; I found them gentle, well-behaved, polite and docile. These last passed for being good, affable, and interested in the Fort, and I found them detestable. Nevertheless, they made many apologies to me in the morning, saying that such a thing had never happened to them, that they were too drunk—the usual excuses of such black dogs! I threatened old "4 Chouette" telling him I would not give him his flag, and I made Gauthier deliver him a harangue suited to his conduct. I am very sorry to be obliged to note here that I did not find Gauthier resolute enough with the Savages as a man should be.

13th Monday. Providence has been pleased to succor us for this morning, we caught in our nets twenty-eight carp and four sun-fish.⁶⁴

64 The French word for this fish is *crapaix*, i. e., crapets, sunfish, *lepomis gibbosus*.—Crawford Lindsay, translator.

I am quite decided, if I am destined to winter at this post next year, to ask M r William M c Gillivray for a good Sauteux interpreter, an honest man and resolute in dealing with the tribes. The interests of the Company absolutely require it because, every autumn, rum must be given to get provisions. And what are two men to cope with sometimes forty or fifty Savages under the influence of liquor and inclined to evil deeds. Were it possible 189 to gather all the French of the post together at such moments, there would be nothing to fear, but unfortunately they are still in the portage, and, during this time of calamity, Bazinet is sometimes in one village, sometimes in another trying to get a sack of wild flee.⁶⁵

65 While having a wide habitat in the United States, wild rice (*zizania aquatica*) is particularly a plant of northern Wisconsin and Minnesota, and a staple food with the Indians of that region. It was probably due to this prevalence that so large an Indian population dwelt on the headwaters of the Mississippi, St. Croix, Chippewa, and Wisconsin rivers. On this and the method of harvesting the grain, see Albert E. Jenks, "Wild Rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes," in American Bureau of Ethnology *Report*, No. 19. Jenks gives a chapter to the use of this product by the whites, and shows how dependent the fur-traders were upon its purchase. It is still used by whites, and forms an article of commerce in the northern Wisconsin towns, but is always garnered by Indians. The sacks in which it was placed were usually made from the skin of some small animal, such as a fawn, but were often woven from rushes. The price of a bushel was usually a plus, or about \$2. One Indian family can harvest, cure, thresh, and winnow from five to twenty-five bushels in the early autumn, mostly during September, which is known as the "wild rice moon," or month. The fur-traders called the Chippewa who used this grain, Folles Avoine (Wild Oats) Sauteurs; and the territory between the St. Croix and Lac du Flambeau was early known as the Folles-Avoine district.— Ed.

"But," you may say, "how does he manage?" I answer that he runs no risk because he arrives at a village, I suppose, with keg of rum. He finds the Savages sober; he gets from them 10 or 11 sacks of wild rice for which he gives his keg, then he leaves at once and is rid of them, but it is different at the Fort.⁶⁶

66 Intoxicating liquor was lavishly dispensed during the struggle with the X Y.—Masson.

14th Tuesday. Durocher, one of my men, came here at three o'clock in the afternoon with the youngest son⁶⁷ of M r Mi[chel] Cadotte, whom I asked of his father at Fort Kamanaitiquoya. He comes to spend the winter with me to learn to read, and

67 Probably the person mentioned ante, p. 184, note 58.— Ed.

Library of Congress

190 serve me as interpreter when necessary. If I teach him French, he will teach me Saulteux in return. His father Came himself to bring him to the Portage with M r Léon St Germain,⁶⁸ who went on to Latonaganne to get wild rice.

⁶⁸ During this period there were in the Northwest several traders named St. Germain. Possibly the one here mentioned was he who served as Chippewa interpreter during the War of 1812–15. He visited Grand Portage, endeavoring to enlist the Chippewa of Lake Superior in the contest. He was commended for keeping his detachment from plundering. Leon St. Germain entered the American Fur Company in 1819, being employed at Lac du Flambeau at a salary of \$2400. He was closely associated with the Cadotte family, having married daughter of the elder Michel.— Ed.

Racicot sent me a keg of rum double strength, by Durocher, foreseeing that I should need it. He wrote to tell me that General Chorette arrived at last on the 8th instant at the Portage with his aide-de-camp Lalancette and ten men hired to work. They have sixty packages of trade goods destined for this post. Racicot says he counted them. They fired small shot at M r Cadotte when he passed near them on Lake Superior, but I presume they were intoxicated at the time.

From all appearances, I think none of them entered the River des Sauteux, and I am sorry for it, because the more their goods are scattered the more they would waste and the less we should have to fear them. All that the Savages told me about M r . Cadotte [Chorette] on the subject, while I was on the lake with them, is altogether untrue, for the three canoe loads are entering here, and one Lamarche has arrived from the Grand Portage with another canoe load to work against M r Cadotte at la Pointe. This morning I sent back Durocher to rejoin his traveling companions. We caught nothing this morning in the nets. *

* * One day of abundance and ten days of famine!

16th Thursday. Today I gave Gauthier some goods for the furs he had in the store. I cannot send him to set the nets because his wife is being confined. He told me yesterday

Library of Congress

evening that he would never go to Fort Kamanaitiquoya if he thought he would not find Mr Sayer there; that he hoped for everything 191 from that gentleman; protection etc. etc, and would rather descend the River des Sauteux in the spring in the hope of meeting people from Michilimakinac⁶⁹ there, and obtaining an outfit from them. I calmed him down and made him take other resolutions, telling him that if he acted thus it would be a manifest proof that he was guilty, and that the proper thing for him to do was to go to Fort Kamanaitiquoya, and explain to our Gentlemen all that had occurred, etc. etc. In the end he agreed with me and resolved to go there and ask pardon.

69 A company of traders against whom the bourgeois [of the North West Company] were competing to the south of Lake Superior. That company joined Mr. John Jacob Astor some years later.— Masson.

Comment by Ed.—This was the Mackinac Company, whose history is briefly sketched in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, pp. 339, 340. Their headquarters were at Mackinac, with a secondary rendezvous at Prairie du Chien. They sent traders up the Chippewa, although it is not known that they had a post thereon. The Mackinac Company traded largely with the Sioux, from whom they secured their best returns. The North West Company had very little Sioux trade.

17th Friday. The heat is excessive, such as we have not had this summer, and, strange to say, there is frequently frost at night, which, in my opinion is not very good for the crops; and we could easily dispense with sickness, having famine. O! wretched people of Lac du Flambeau, everything is against you! Little to eat, much work to do; sometimes ill, uncertain of obtaining returns, with reproaches to be dreaded from the Partners, anxiety about the goods out of the fort, Savages to satisfy, and adversaries to watch. What a life! ! “Poor Malhiot, when will you be relieved of such a heavy burden? I have cast your nativity.⁷⁰ If he who has always protected you so far and has been a second father to you, kindly continues his good graces and covers you with his mantle, you will be sheltered from the weather and will soon be rewarded for all your labor and discomfort.”

Library of Congress

19th Sunday. Bazinet arrived from Ouisseconsaint yesterday

70 The French is “tírer ton horoscope”, that is, have. your future predicted by astrology.—
Ed.

192 evening at 6 o'clock. His returns are not what I had expected, but if all the goods I send out between now and the spring yield as good returns I shall not have much to complain of. He reports that the Savages stabbed one another during the drinking bout, and that he would have been killed had it not been for “l'Outarde.” He never ceases praising that good Savage to me, saying that he would not touch the rum; and, during the whole time the Savages were intoxicated, he remained armed and walked to and fro in front of the tent door.

Not one devil among them intends to give three deer hides for a plus, and, to avoid displeasing them, I am obliged to do like my adversary who takes two for a plus. We have just heard several gun-shots in the direction of Chorette's fort⁷¹ which leads us to presume that His Lordship has just landed.

20th Monday. The wife of old “La Chouette” and one of his daughters came this morning. I got some deer skins and bear skins from them. Two hours after their arrival they went to Chorette's but were thrown out by Lalancette who was then as drunk as a hog. He said to them: “Go away! Go to your Father, *the Great Trader*. Let him give you drink; as for us, we are slaves and have no rum.” * * * Poor Brutes!⁷² do they think, like the Savages, that I am really one of the partners of the North West Company!

23rd Thursday. Yesterday evening at eight o'clock, Chorette passed here and told Bazinet he had been unable to see the Savages; we think the wounded are dead and that is why they delay. I think I will send some one to meet them tomorrow to make sure of the little provisions they have. I learned this morning from several Savages that one L'étang⁷³ had entered

Library of Congress

71 There does not seem to be any data to determine the site of the X Y Company's post. As it was abandoned upon the consolidation of the companies, or over one hundred years ago, its site is probably now unmarked.— Ed.

72 The French word is here the unknown term “Besthias.” referred to *ante*, p. 186, note 60.— Ed.

73 This person, whose name is also spelled Le Temps, but was probably identical with the Canadian-French name L'Estang, was an opposition trader on Red Lake, in the present Minnesota, in 1798. He appears to have settled finally in that state, although a family bearing a similar name resided during the eighteenth century at Cahokia.— Ed.

193 the River des Sauteux with one canoe load. This completes my conviction that the 60 packages Chorette has with him are intended for this post.

24th Friday. Gauthier, having been asked by Chorette W go and see him, went there with my permission to ascertain what he wanted. At the same time, I wanted to test him and see whether he would drink. but I have the consolation of being able to say that he came back quite sober and I like to think that he will keep the promises he has made me.

We are threatened with a famine because the Savages absolutely want to go on the war-path; consequently they will put the greater portion' of their rice in caches, and we shall find ourselves with very little, which we shall have to purchase at its weight in gold.

25th Saturday. Thirty canoes arrived here at noon. Chorette's Savages made me a present of 3 sacks of wild rice for which I gave them a large keg of rum and a brasse of tobacco. I gave “le Muffle d'Orignal”⁷⁴ a coat and harangued him as follows:

74 “Le muffle d'Orignal” (moose's muzzle) must have been the chief known as Mozoboddo (Monsobodouh), who succeeded his father Keeshkenum, one of the noted Chippewa chiefs. the first settler at Lac du Flambeau. Keeshkenum was still alive in 1827, but very

Library of Congress

old, and died soon thereafter, when Mozoboddo was invested with the chieftainship. He in turn died about 1832, and was succeeded by White Crow.— Ed.

“ *Kinsman* —I am quite willing to forget what thou didst last year and to believe it was not thy fault that we did not get all thy furs, but do not act in the same way in future. The coat I give thee today will show thee the path thou must follow. * * * I rely on all thy promises; be not double-faced. I would like to have not only thy furs but also thy corn. I have many children to feed. Moreover it would soil thy body to carry a single grain of corn to the other fort. My orders from our 13 194 Father at Kamanaitiquoya were for thee as for all the others. I was to give thee nothing this autumn and to wait until I knew thee. But, from what thou hast just told me and from what the French have told me, I am obliged to act as I am doing. Take courage therefore and think of thy Fort.”

I gave 4 kegs, of four pots and one of six to these various savages for nothing, because they are devoted to the Fort and are good hunters.

27th Monday. I sent Bazinet to meet my people in the Portage with two of his brothers-in-law, to bring me 4 kegs of rum, double strength.

28th Tuesday. Several of Chorette's Savages came here last night to get rum and to use violence. For a long while I may say, making use of an expression among the lower orders in Canada, that “ *I did not know whether I was eating pork or pig* ” * * * I was alone with Gauthier and they were at least 15 rascals all armed; those who had no knives or spears, had sticks or stones. Fortunately we all got off with calling one another names and threatening one another. “Le Taureau” came and told us that “l'Outarde” would soon arrive.

30th Thursday. The Savages were making medicine all night and never stopped smoking for war.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ A large literature exists on the subject of “making medicine,” or the religious and magic rites of the Chippewa. An interesting early description of the consultation with their tutelary

Library of Congress

spirits is found in Bain, *Henry's Travels*. pp. 66–69. The entire subject of what the Jesuit missionaries called sorcery, and others name Jugglery, as well as the great religious society found among the Chippewa, is discussed in Walter J. Hoffman, “The Midewiwin, or Grand Medicine Society, of the Ojibwa” in U. S. Bureau of Ethnology *Report*, vii, pp. 149–299.— Ed.

31st Friday. At last “l'Outarde” arrived at noon with a following of 15 canoes of his people. I had not a drop of rum to offer him. He asked me where Bazinet was and I told him he had gone to the Portage, and would not be back until tonight or tomorrow night because he was afraid to pass the village of Lac du Flambeau in the day time lest he might be robbed; that we 195 had been nearly killed, etc. He rushed out at once and delivered the following harangue: “What have you done, you people of Lac du Flambeau? Why have you come to worry my Trader, and have you threatened to kill him and steal his goods? I did not ask him to come here to be the sport of Savages or to be compelled to feed or treat you. You have your own Trader; get what you want from him. lie has rum; let him give you some, and make him give you some. He has some etc. etc.” I looked at him while he was speaking. He looked like a soldier. He re-entered a moment afterward and said to me: “No, no, Bazinet will not be robbed,” and he at once commanded with authority three young men to go and meet him.

September 2nd Sunday. “L'Outarde” told me yesterday he would do all in his power to prevent the Savages from going on the war-path, because if they went I should get no furs. It has been raining since noon yesterday, and Bazinet has not turned up. The Savages find the time longer than I do.

3rd Monday. Bazinet arrived at 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon with the goods he had gone to get. I gave a coat to “l'Outarde” and also his flag, and one to “la Grande Loutre.” I gave a laced capot to “le Grand Canard,” and another to the Lieutenant of “La Loutre,” and to each his share of rum. I delivered the following harangue to “l'Outarde.”

Library of Congress

“Kinsman——The coat I have put on thee is sent thee by the Great Trader; by such coats he distinguishes the most highly considered persons of a tribe. The Flag is a true symbol of a Chief and thou must deem thyself honored by it, because we do not give them to the first comers among the Savages. One must do as thou dost to get one, that is: love the French as thou dost, watch over their preservation and enable them to make up packs of furs.

“My orders were to give thee nothing this autumn, and to wait until the spring that I might know thee, but, on account of all the good things I have heard of thee from the French, I did not hesitate a moment to make thee glorious, for I am convinced thou wilt always be the same for the Fort; that thou wilt take 196 care of my young men, that no dog may bite them,⁷⁶ and that they will never come back ashamed when they go to the lodges.

⁷⁶ A figure to express the desire that no misfortune shall happen to them.— Ed.

“As first chief of the place, thou must make every effort so that all the Savages may come and trade here in the spring; it will be a glory to thee to send the canoes full to the Grand Portage.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Used to indicate the general rendezvous, which had long been at Grand Portage, but was in process of removal to Kaministiquia. See ante, p. 166, note 23.— Ed.

“Remember that the name of the Great Trader⁷⁸ is on the flag. Wherever thou mayest go, to no matter which one of his Forts, thou wilt be received with open arms, and he cannot give thee a greater token of his friendship. He has listened to thy complaints and is very sorry Gauthier drank thy rum last year. I can assure thee, comrade, that it will be different this year.

⁷⁸ The head of the North West Company, William McGillevey.— Ed.

Library of Congress

“And ye, all of ye, look at me. See the Trader who is sent to you! I am he whom you asked for. This summer, I received three messages from three chiefs of the prairies⁷⁹ to go back and winter in their lands, but I refused in order that our Great Trader might speak truly, who wished to send me here to do you a charity and not to be despised. Nevertheless I have no reproaches to address you because this is the first time I see you. Be devoted, therefore, to your Fort; take care of it; guard its doors and next spring I will send good news of you to our Father.”

⁷⁹ Referring to his previous post on Assiniboine River; see sketch of Malhiot, *ante*, p. 165. — Ed.

4th Tuesday. We had quarrels all day with the Savages of Lac du Flambeau;⁸⁰ spears, knives, hatchets, etc, all were

⁸⁰ The village of Lac du Flambeau would seem, by inference from this relation, to have been attached to the X Y Company; while Malhiot, for the North West Company, relied upon the trade of the outlying Villages. This description of a drunken fray is characteristic of the fur-trade journals, especially during the period of great competition. See J. Long, “Voyages,” in Thwaites, *Early Western travels* (Cleveland, 1904), ii.— Ed.

¹⁹⁷ brought into play. They made a breach in the Fort, broke on, of the doors and had it not been for the aid of “l’Outarde,” of “l’Epaule de Canard,” and two or three young men who were quite sober at the time, there would certainly have been blood-shed and even somebody killed on one side or the other. “L’Outarde” had his head cut open with a blow from a stick, and so had one of his young men. I thanked God he had no knife during the fight, for he would assuredly have killed somebody. There were 5 or 6 at him, and I expected every moment to see him pass from this world to the other. He really looked like a madman, uttering yells that would frighten any one and calling out to me from time to time: “Take courage, Father! Strike everywhere hit! kill? After a two hours quarrel we succeeded in getting those wild beasts out of the Fort.

Library of Congress

5th Wednesday. The Savages of Lac du Flambeau finished their noise only at nine o'clock last night, and to sign the treaty of peace I gave them a keg of four pots and a brasse of tobacco. "L'Outarde" was only half pleased at this and he wanted very much to begin the fight again. Today all is calm. They are sleeping soundly. These Savages of Lac du Flambeau do not belong to "l'Outarde's" band.

6th Thursday. I sent Bazinet to distribute a keg of rum among the lodges. "L'Outarde" and 5 of his young men are continually in the Fort, quite sober, and so is "l'Epaule de Canard," to prevent and stop all quarrels that might arise.

7th Friday. The end of this drinking bout was very quiet; we slept from one o'clock until this morning; we greatly needed it for we had not lain down since the 3rd instant.

10th Monday. The Savages are beginning to leave. May they all be gone soon! "L'Outarde" started yesterday with his young men to gather wild rice at lac de la Truite where his, village is.⁸¹

81 Trout Lake (Lac de la Truite) is in Vilas County, just east of the Flambeau reservation. It is said that when the Chippewa moved down into the interior of the country, somewhere near the middle of the eighteenth century, they tarried awhile at Trout Lake, before passing to Lac du Flambeau on the west.— Ed.

198

12th Wednesday. A band of the rascals who are camped here near the Fort have gone to camp at the village of Lac du Flambeau, until my people come.

14th Friday. Yesterday I got 4 sacks of rice from Folle Avoine for which I gave him half a keg of rum and half a brasse of tobacco. The rum was drunk last night at the lodges of Lac du Flambeau, notwithstanding all I could do and say, for I hoped that devil of a Savage

Library of Congress

would have taken it to his own grounds as he had promised me. Fortunately, drunk as they were, they did not come and ask me for more. A Great Miracle!

16th Sunday. Three of old “Lachouette's” young men arrived here yesterday at four o'clock in the afternoon, and four others, from Lac de la Folle,⁸² from whom I got 3 sacks of rice. The wind blew and rain fell to an extraordinary degree today. The Savages overwhelm us; we cannot set our nets, and we constantly eat our rice with water only. A fine and good dish! dogs would get thin on it.

⁸² An abbreviation for *Lac de la Folle Avoine*, or Wild Rice Lake. Jenks, *op. cit.*, pp. 1115–1126, enumerates fifteen or more lakes in northern Wisconsin named for the rice growing therein. There are several in Vilas County alone; the nearest to Lac du Flambeau that now keeps the name is Little Rice Lake, in township 42 north, range 7 east, northeast of Trout Lake.— Ed.

21st Friday. It rained from Sunday until noon yesterday. This morning Chorette arrived with four of his men carrying loads and he told us the portages were horribly bad.

23rd Sunday. I received a letter from my people this morning; they are still in the great Portage. Through their laziness they ran short of food and went to trade for some at la Tortue's village.⁸³ I sent Bazinet to meet them and hurry them on and I wrote them the following letter,

⁸³ Probably on the lake known as Turtle Lake, on the Montreal River portage.— Ed.

“ *Racicot* ,—I have just received your letter by “La Loche” and I am surprised at its contents. What! people with fourteen and fifteen hundred livres wages take two months to come 199 through the Montreal Portage! Children that ye are! people on whom no reliance can be placed.⁸⁴ Men coming from Montreal this year could have done as much as you! You have not enough sense to know the injury you are doing the Company by your delay.

Library of Congress

Now you find yourselves in bad roads and whose is the fault? Say, say that your hearts are not in the right place and that you did not wish to do your duty.

84 The original French reads, “gens do peu de flare,” a local French-Canadian expression, implying that no reliance can be placed in such a person or such a thing— Crawford Lindsay.

“You, Racicot, who were about to be promoted and enter into office, why did you not command the others and make them push on by force or by gentle means? No doubt you were very glad to sleep with your face to the sun like the others. If you have been without food, it is your own fault also, and what would you have to say now, if I made you pay for the rum you gave to purchase food! You ask me for Durocher; work a miracle, cure him and he will go and warm your beds!

F. Vt. M. I. o .”

26th Wednesday. The Savages pester me and my provisions are disappearing like straw in the fire. I am eager to have Bazinet come so as to get rid of them. The rascals are so crowded together in my house, especially in the last five or six days, that they have given me vermin and the more I change my shirt the more vermin I have. It is the same with Gauthier. We hardly have time to put a kettle of rice on the fire before 50 of those dogs are around us asking for some even before it is boiled. Our beards will soon be as long as billy-goats; and we are devoured by farcy.

27th Thursday. “L'Epaule de canard” has just arrived with 30 beaver skins; the traps he got from me a few days ago are broken.

28th Friday. My people came in at last at 4 o'clock yesterday evening. No sooner were the goods put in the store than I began to unpack them and to give some on credit to the Savages of the Vieux Désert who started at one o'clock this morning. 200 “L'Aigle”⁸⁵ left me his pipe-stem with a porcelain collar to be handed to M r MacGillivray in the spring,

Library of Congress

and he told me he was a straightforward man and left his pipe-stem at the Fort as a token of his sincerity. I gave him a large keg and made the following speech to him:

85 Perhaps this was the chieftain known as Gitshee Migeezee (Great. Eagle), who signed the treaty of 1826, and was said to be from Ontonagon.— Ed.

“ *Kinsman* ,—It affords me much pleasure to smoke with thy pipe-stem and to receive thy word. Our Great Trader at Kamanaitiquoya will, I hope, receive it in the spring with satisfaction and will send thee a token of his friendship if thou continuest to do well. * * * Take courage therefore; be but one with us and look at the Fort of the X Y only from afar if thou wishest to obtain what thou desirest.”

I also gave a laced capot to Barsaloux with a half keg of rum and a large keg to “l'Outarde” to be distributed in his village in exchange for rice.

I forgot to state above that while Bazinet was passing through la Tortue's village with all the goods, he gave away two large kegs of rum there for which he got only two sacks of rice. My cask of shrub was stolen from him and he gave two quarts of rum, double strength, to get it back. He also gave goods on credit to several Savages to whom I would not have given a needle.

I shall take this opportunity to speak of Bazinet according to his merits and to say that he is truly an honest man, as careful as possible of goods on a journey, eager to push on, taking the interests of the Company, working to excess in a fort, a famous hand at going out to meet the Savages and trade with them,⁸⁶ but too timid with them, for if a rascal were to look somewhat fixedly at him, he could make him give up his trousers. Such being the case, I maintain that he would be very capable under another,

86 The French phrase, a common one among fur-traders, is “courir la drouine,” which means to go with the savages to their winter hunting grounds and trade with them there, instead of waiting for their return to the post.— Ed.

Library of Congress

201 but would be useless as head man of a post. He is a good hand at going out to meet the Savages and trade with them because the quantity of goods is never great and he always manages to defend himself on the person who employs him.

29th Saturday. Barsaloux came back this morning and so did "la Grue Blanche." They say they were wrecked, and I am obliged to give them fresh goods on credit so as not to lose all. They left me their collars as pledges. Today I obtained from the son of "La Pierre à Affiler" four sacks of rice for which I gave him a half keg of rum. I gave my people a feast.

30th Sunday. My people got very drunk yesterday and, through fear, the Savages stopped drinking. Today I sent three of my men to Lee de la Truite to get rice and two others to old "La Chouette's" for the same purpose. Chorette left this morning to go and rejoin his people in the Portage.

October 3rd, Wednesday. Old "La Chouette" arrived here yesterday with his band. I obtained from him the promise that they would not drink in my Fort. He left this morning quite pleased with his Flag and so were all his followers. A number of Savages of Lee du Flambeau were at the water's edge where he embarked and, at my request, he did not give them a single dram.

4th Thursday. I have just sent off Bazinet for Ouisseconsaint with an outfit of 3½ pieces of cloth, 4 kegs of rum, double strength, one of powder etc., etc. I am sending Racicot with him because the majority of the Savages to whom I have given credit are to winter there and he will be only too necessary there, as he can read, to make out all the credits and also to help Bazinet when the Savages are in liquor, for, I repeat it with regret, the poor devil has no more resolution than a child.

5th Friday. I have just taken an inventory of the furs I have traded since my arrival here and I counted: 528 deer skins, 840 musk-rat skins, 107 lbs. Beaver, 44 otter skins, 16 bear skins, 7 marten skins, 1 mink skin—the whole making probably sixteen packs. This autumn trade has greatly reduced my stock 202 of goods so that I am unable to send any

Library of Congress

into the country of the River of the Sauteux. Without exaggeration it would certainly have required the assortment of 16 pieces of cloth to cope with my adversaries and crush them, and I would venture to bet that Chorette would not get ten packs for all his goods had I the necessary stock to send out and compete with him in the country of the River of the Sauteux.

11th Thursday. "L'Outarde" came here last Monday very late at night, as he was to start the next day. He told me that "l'Epaule de Canard" had started to go and join Bazinet in his winter-quarters. Instead of leaving, "l'Outarde" got drunk at Chorette's and did not get sober until today. To get rid of him and not lose the advances I had made him I gave him another half keg of rum for nothing for himself and his band, and he started with many presents from Chorette. That man never should have had a coat and still less a flag. He is a slave to liquor; he is too importunate and half a canoe load would not suffice to satisfy him. The Savages stole a half keg of rum, double strength, from Chorette last night and "l'Outarde" was at their head.

13th Saturday. Two young men from the Lakes,⁸⁷ sent by old "La Chouette" arrived here yesterday morning. I got one hundred and ten musk-rat and two beaver skins from them. I am sending to him George Yarns, his father-in-law, to get the kegs he has belonging to me and to take him ammunition and a few goods he asks for the purpose of trading on commission with the Savages of the Lakes.

⁸⁷ Probably Pelican Lakes, not far from Rhinelander, in Oneida and Lincoln counties. The Lac du Flambeau band had, towards the close of the eighteenth century, spread into this region.— Ed.

14th Sunday. All is calm at last. * * * All those black faces have gone and entered their winter-quarters. May God guide them! We shall therefore begin fishing again and have some fish to season our rice. It is time, for my stomach was getting weak.

Library of Congress

15th Monday. Having no more credit to give, I took an inventory 203 of the remaining goods this morning. They consist of 3½ pieces of common cloth, and assortment; 1½ Roll of tobacco; 6 kegs, double strength; 1½ keg of powder; shot, bullets etc.

Had I but as much again, I could have sent to compete against Chorette in the country of the River of the Sauteux. Were I to divide what remains in two, it would spoil the trade.

17th Wednesday. My men have just arrived from Chorette's; they tell me he has started for the Rivière des Sauteux with two bastard⁸⁸ canoes and has 6 engagés with him. They say they saw 3½ bales of goods.

88 The smallest transport canoe of the Northwest.— Masson.

18th Thursday. I am despatching Durocher to la Pointe to inform M r Cadotte that I cannot send any one to compete against Chorette at the Rivière des Sauteux; that he must send himself and have him followed step by step and even have him accompanied thus until the spring. I am also asking for a two handed saw to replace the sawn lumber of my fort and protect myself against attack another year.

30th Saturday. Hitherto I have been too busy to speak of the Savages with the exception of an occasional allusion and only in a very imperfect manner; and, so that i may not forget what I have to say about them, I return to the subject. Let us therefore make use of the oil while there is some in the lamp.

“L'Outarde” is very far from perfect. I cannot say he is rogue and that his heart is black, but he is on the way to it, and I hope, for the public good, both on account of the Savages and of ourselves, and for the benefit of the North West Company, that the flag I gave him will serve as his winding-sheet.

Old “La Chouette” is improving and works with interest for the Fort, but he was lacking in courage to deserve the flag he got.

Library of Congress

"L'Epaule de Canard" is the only Savage who deserved a flag and he was not given one! He is a sober, brave Savage, liked by the others, liking the French, capable of sacrificing himself for them; a good man for errands; he does not ask for things, is satisfied with everything that is given him and is a famous 204 hunter. I thought I had found another man like him in Bazinet's brother-in-law called "La Loche," but he is not a hunter and is still young. He told me one day he hoped to become as good a man; I answered that many qualities were needed to entitle one to be clothed with a coat, etc; that the position of chief was hard to keep, and that a man must be reckless of his life try be a chief. He then told me he could do everything, etc. I thought proper to answer that the ladder was a very long one, that he had only mounted the first; round and had a long way to go before reaching the top.

There are some others whom I might include in the number of good Savages, but, as a rule, if I could put them all in a bag and know that Lucifer wanted them, I would give them all to him for a penny. * * * If they were lambs formerly, today they are rabid wolves and unchained devils. As a rule they possess all the vices of mankind and only think they are living well, when they live evil lives.

After saying what I think of those wretches, I will now deal with the French. I have said what I had to say about Bazinet; as to Gauthier it would be very wrong of me to complain of him. He no longer drinks and behaves like an honest man. At the first drinking bout the Savages had this autumn he weakened a little and seemed lacking in firmness, but it has been quite different since; he is doing his best and if he be expelled from the Company, three fourths of the people may be banished from the Synagogue.

All the other men under me behave like good fellows and are much more polite, much more submissive, and take a little more interest than the people of the North.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Malhiot is contrasting his employees with those on the company's roll, north and west of Kaministiquia, called collectively "people of the North."— Ed.

Library of Congress

November 6th, Tuesday. My men have finished chopping their firewood and tomorrow will begin squaring the pickets for the fort.

* * * * *

205

December 20th, Thursday.⁹⁰ Two of the Savages went last night in spite of me to Lalancette's to ask him to sell them some twine for nets. They came back at half past three and told me Lalancette had gone after my people. I sent Martineau today to their lodges with a kettle and two silk handkerchiefs which they asked me to trade to them.

⁹⁰ The part of the Journal omitted from Nov. 7 to Dec. 20 contains nothing interesting. The men in the fort lived on a scant allowance of food, catching barely enough fish to season their wild rice or corn [bled].— Masson.

21st Friday. Martineau and Bruno arrived at five o'clock in the evening and brought furs to the value of 24 plus, most of them being beaver skins. George, Durocher and Little Cadotte remained at the lodges. Martineau told me that Lalancette had given a kettle, the first of the nest⁹¹ for two and a half plus; he also gave a new net for twenty muskrat skins and another for the damaged skin of a bear cub. The Savages also ask for provisions, shot and some other small articles.

⁹¹ The smallest kettle Of a series fitting one within the other, in order to economize space. — Masson.

Lalancette was so intoxicated the day before yesterday that he was obliged to sleep on the road and did not reach the lodges until noon; my people had arrived during the night. Martineau swore to me that Lalancette had fallen at least twenty times, and had wandered as much and broken as much under-brush as a moose that has remained a long time in the same place.⁹²

Library of Congress

92 The French phrase is “ravage d'original.” Our hunters call a ravage of a moose or caribou the place where the animal has eaten moss or twigs, broken the underbrush, etc.
— Crawford Lindsay.

23rd Sunday. At last my people have all arrived and have brought some beaver skins. They say that Lalancette spent a four pot keg of rum, double strength, in the lodges without being able to get a single marten skin, and had it not been for his kettle and his two nets, he would have gone back empty-handed, for the Savages waited a day thinking I would send them some.

Little Cadotte is very clever with the Nations [tribes], although 206 he is very young. My men say that he gave himself an extraordinary amount of trouble. He got hold of the greater portion of the Savages' Furs as soon as he saw Lalancette come on the lake, and he said to them before Lalancette himself: “Do not trade with him; he knew you were starving and he did not deign to bring you a single grain of rice; he is a hog; he makes a god of his belly. He would see the Savages die rather than give them a glass of water, etc. etc.” I take this opportunity to say that the child promises well; his sentiments are very good; he is polite, steady, saving etc. When he came here in the autumn he did not know a single letter of the alphabet, and could barely pronounce a few words in French, and now he can read as well as a child who has been 4 years at school. He knows his prayers and his catechism; but one step more and he will be a prodigy.

* * * * *

February 4th, Monday.⁹³ Chorette came to pay me a visit; I made him stop and have supper with me. He told me that “La Pierre à affiler” and his young men intend to kill me in the spring; to be on my guard against them; that he was sure of their plot. I asked him why, and he said it was because Bazinet had told them I had given them all to the Master of life and they would all die before the spring.⁹⁴

Library of Congress

93 The journal from December 23 to February 4 contains nothing interesting. Fishing was a complete failure.— Masson.

94 This indicates the superstitions of the Indians, which were largely shared by the French voyageurs. Malhiot means that the Indians believed he had cast some kind of charm or spell upon them, by an appeal to the Great Spirit, for whom they frequently used the term “Master of Life.” Nothing more appears of this plot against Malhiot's life; probably the warning given by his rival trader was sufficient to thwart it. The chief whom Malhiot calls “La Pierre à affiler” was the celebrated Keeshkenum, head chief of the Lac du Flambeau band. He was Chorette's father-in-law, and therefore in the interests of the X Y Company. He was a chief of great influence, first founder of the Lac du Flambeau band, descendant of Shadawish, great chief of Sault Ste. Marie in 1671. Keeshkenum was of the totem of the crane, and claimed pre-eminence over all the interior villages of Wisconsin. In 1808 he sharply rebuked the Lac Court Oreille band for their sympathy with Tecumseh. It is claimed that In 1812 he declared his alliance with the Americans. See *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp. 372–375. It would seem by that recital that Michel Cadette Jr. was his grandson—probably his grand nephew, as the Indians did not distinguish between these degrees of consanguinity. He was living in 1827, but soon after died.— Ed.

207

March 1st, Friday.⁹⁵ I arrived here four hours after nightfall after an absence of two days at old “Lachouette's” whence I brought back 10 beaver skins, also 7 maskinongé for which i gave a keg of rum of 4 pots. Today we caught enough fish for one meal.

95 The journal from February 5 to March 1, contains nothing of interest; it speaks only of the savages starving and the sufferings of the French, who have no fish.— Masson.

I learn from two young men who have just arrived that “le Muffle d'Original,” one of the Savages I gave a coat to last autumn, starved to such an extent that he had to eat his

Library of Congress

pack, his dogs, and ever his gun-cover; and that “le Chef des Oiseaux,” who found him by accident, gave him assistance. I sent a carrot⁹⁶ of tobacco to “le Chef des Oiseaux.”

96 Two or three pounds of tobacco.— Masson.

9th Saturday. “La Tête Grise” arrived and camped near the fort with the whole of his band. When Gauthier's wife went this morning to Chorette's to get her snow-shoes that a Savage had taken from her, Lalancette said so many insulting things to her that the woman came back in tears. Gauthier went there at once and I sent two men with him. He found Lalancette hidden in the garret of his house, but shame compelled him to come down when Gauthier seized him and beat him to such an extent that he cannot see. My two men took off their coats and challenged the remainder of the men in the house, but the challenge was not taken up.

13th Wednesday. Tonight, at a very late hour, “le Gros Aigle,”⁹⁷ a Savage of the Vieux Désert, arrived here. He came to get us to go and collect my advances. He has just told me

97 Probably the same Indian noted *ante*, p. 200, note 85.— Ed.

208 that Tremblé whom I sent with them last autumn with over 90 plus worth of goods, had left their lodges after trading the goods and had gone to Roy's at l'Anse,⁹⁸ with a fine pack and that they had not seen him since. That Tremblé must have left his Savages about the 2nd or third of January.

98 François Roy was North West Company clerk at l'Anse as early as 1801–02. The name was not uncommon among fur-trade employees. Probably the Indian interpreter of 1812 at Detroit, was the Roy from l'Anse, since he accompanied other Lake Superior traders. From that time he disappears from our knowledge.

L'Anse was the French term for the small bay at the bottom of Keweenaw Bay, and was frequented by the Indians from very early times. It was at an Indian village on this site

Library of Congress

that Father Ménard spent the last winter before his death (1660–61), laboring among fugitive Ottawa. It soon came, however, to be Chippewa territory. Ménard had given the bay the name of St. Thérèse, but it soon reverted to the aboriginal form. L'Anse was not visited by the ordinary traveller on Lake Superior, since it lies fifteen miles south of the Keweenaw portage. A considerable Indian village at this point, however, induced trading, and the post became an auxiliary of that of La Pointe. When the American Fur Company began trade in Lake Superior in 1816–17, l'Anse was one of their first posts, being managed by John Johnston, from the Sault. In 1826, William Holliday was clerk in charge. A mission for the Indians at l'Anse was begun in 1832, by Methodists from Canada. John Sunday, a converted Chippewa, came out and spent seven months at this place. In the autumn, ten Indians from l'Anse were baptized at Sault Ste. Marie by the well-known Christian chief, Peter Jones. Later, the mission was transferred to the care of the church in the United States. It proved to be quite successful, and by 1848 had 300 civilized Indians dwelling in houses and assuming citizenship. A reservation was laid off in 1859 for the l'Anse band, just north of the American town. The Catholic mission at l'Anse was founded by Father Baraga in 1843, in the township called by his name. There he dwelt for ten years until created bishop, and there prepared his well-known grammar and dictionary of the Chippewa language. L'Anse thus became a noted mission centre; but the invasion of miners and prospectors after 1845, brought to the Indians whiskey and demoralization. Their progress towards civilization has, however, continued, and in 1903 they were reported as self-supporting, partially educated, and living much like their white neighbors.— Ed.

14th Thursday. I am sending Gauthier with Durocher to

Makometa, or Bear's Oil Menominee chief. From colored lithograph by James Otto Lewis, 1827

Shinggaabaw'osin, or The Figured Stone Chippewa chief. From colored lithograph by James Otto Lewis, 1826

Library of Congress

209 the Vieux Desert to collect my advances and to trade. All the Savages of that place starved more than the others and have almost nothing; they will hardly be able to pay one fourth of their advances. I am sending Martineau and Beaulieu to l'Anse with a Savage to whom I am giving 20 plus worth of goods for his trouble. I am giving orders to those three men to try and bring Tremblé back and, if they cannot succeed, to at least seize the pack. This rascally trick does me great harm; it takes two men away from me for at least 20 days and my Fort is kept back. Nevertheless, I do not despair of having the pickets planted before I leave, but the absence of those two men during twenty days will make me lose many plus.

16th Saturday. "L'Outarde" arrived here with two loads of meat which he gave me as a present. I gave him six pots of rum. A moment afterward his brother-in-law arrived thinner than I have ever seen any man and so weakened by starvation that he could hardly put one foot before the other. "Le Genou" arrived later; he told me he had killed three moose and three bears and to send for them; unfortunately, I have only one man and he is ill. Lalancette is to go and get the meat. "Le Genou" will keep the bear skins for me. I forgot to say that on the 17th we had a great deal of thunder and lightning.

April 17th Wednesday. My people have finished planting the pickets of my Fort and it is the finest of all the savage departments. "Long live the North West Company!" "Honor to Malhiot!"

Old La Chouette who has just arrived made me a present of pieces of meat for which I gave him 5 chopines of rum. His son "Le Brulé" repaid me his advance and gave me a bear-skin; I made him a present of half a keg of rum; I gave him another half keg on commission, also some ammunition and tobacco to trade with the people of the Lakes. I also gave his father the same quantity of ammunition. Those Savages are working very well for the Fort. * * * How scarce such people are!

Library of Congress

15th Thursday. My men are sawing planks to cover the bastion of the Fort. Chorette gives a brasse of cloth for a 14 210 bear skin. Rum flows like water on both sides, but Chorette is beginning to complain and I still have seven kegs of mixed rum. I have hardly any more tobacco and fear I shall have none at all before I leave. My supply of goods will also fail. *
* * For eleven years that I have been wintering among the Savages I have never known a competitor trade as cheaply as Chorette. I think Lucifer brings him his goods from London as he needs them.

26th Friday. The son of "La pierre à Affiler," Chorette's brother-in-law, came here last night and made me a present of an otter skin, 15 musk-rat skins and 12 lbs of sugar for which I gave him 4 pots of rum. He went to drink it at Chorette's with "l'Ours" and "La Petite Racine." When they were quite drunk they cleared the house, nearly killed Chorette, stabbed Lalancette and broke into the store-room. They took two otter skins, for which I gave them some more rum this morning not knowing that they had stolen them. All this row happened because Chorette had promised them rum for their skins and had none to give them.

They came here tonight intending to get me to give them liquor, but we drove them away by striking them with poles from the top of the Fort. In their fury they went for their guns but did not venture to fire them and went away with the shame of not having succeeded in doing anything.

I thank God every day for having inspired me with the idea of making so good a fort, impregnable to bullets and to all attacks.

May 2nd, Thursday. St Germain has just arrived from la Pointe. He told me, but too late, that the two Companies now form but one.⁹⁹ I have engaged my men!

⁹⁹ For the union of the two companies, North West and X Y, see *ante*, p. 168, note 30. It was arranged at Montreal Nov. 5, 1804, and the agreement then drawn up remained

Library of Congress

in force until, in 1821, the North West merged into the Hudson's Bay Company. This settlement of 1804 was of immense advantage to the trade; competition was practically abolished; "scenes of violence in the interior ceased, the sale of liquor was considerably diminished, and commerce was carried on in a more regular and equitable fashion." When Malhiot says that the news has come "too late," he means too late for the reduction of salaries that followed the coalition, The competition of the two companies had increased wages over twenty-five per cent. These were almost immediately lowered, but the employees of both companies were retained.— Ed.

211

10th Friday. The war party that arrived here the day before yesterday to the number of 17, went to Chorette's, killed his dogs and, this afternoon, are feasting on the same dogs. After making me eat some, they left us, to my great satisfaction, for my provisions are diminishing rapidly. Today I am sending 3 men to Chorette's to get my canoe. He is always extravagant as usual, and gives a brasse of cloth for one otter or two beaver skins.

I am expecting another war party from day to day. God grant they may not be so long in importuning me. I also expect Bazinet from day to day. He alone detains me here and I think the fort I ordered him to make is the cause of his delay. I am alone to guard the Fort with Gauthier. My people have not had a day's rest since my arrival here last autumn. Of all the men who may be in the upper country I do not think there are any who have worked as hard as mine: a house twenty feet square, of logs placed one on the other made by four men; 70 cords of fire-wood chopped; pickets sawn for a fort; a bastion covered: a clearing made for sowing 8 kegs of potatoes; and all the journeys made here and there! ! !

23rd Thursday. We finished the packs at noon; I had the canoes gummed and started from the Fort at half past five in the afternoon after taking stock of what I left in Gauthier's charge. Fine weather; all my people in good health. * * * God be with us throughout our journey!

Library of Congress

24th Friday. On the way I met Chorette who was coming back from Lake Superior with half a keg of rum he was taking to his father-in-law. Tremblé took advantage of the opportunity to come to me. The poor fellow gave me very bad reasons²¹² as excuses and I fear for him at the Grand Portage. Roy wrote me about him, and also about the trade. He is very wrong to complain because I did not send Tremblé to trade with his Savages, but with mine who obtained goods on credit at my Fort last autumn, and those same Savages are sending a pipestem to M^r MacGillivray so that I may send them more goods another year. M^r Cadette writes me also and informs me he was unable to forward my letter to M^r MacGillivray etc.

26th Sunday. Yesterday we crossed the Portage des Six Poses and that of the village of la Tortue and, at one o'clock this afternoon we reached the Grand Portage of the Montreal River¹ where my canoe was broken, and we are obliged to camp in order to allow four packs to dry that got wet. The two portages we crossed are exceedingly bad and the Savages tell me this one is still worse.

¹ See *ante*, p. 181, notes 54, 55.— Ed.

27th Monday. It rained all last night and we could not begin to portage before ten o'clock. Nevertheless, we did a good day's work having come to camp at the Petite Rivière, this side of the Rivière des Pins.² The portage was never so bad and the flies are eating us up.

² Rivière des Pins was probably the present Pine River, flowing from Pine Lake and by its union with Balsam River forming the East branch of the Montreal. This was the point chosen by T. J. Cram in 1841 as the headwaters of Montreal River, and from here was accordingly run the boundary line to Lac Vieux Désert. In recent years, Michigan surveyors have claimed that this is not the true headwaters of the Montreal; that the West branch is the larger and real headwaters, and that its source in Island Lake should be the starting point for the boundary line. Were the interstate boundary thus rectified, Hurley and all the lands between the east and west branches of the Montreal would come under Michigan

Library of Congress

jurisdiction. The matter has proceeded no further, however, than newspaper agitation. The Northwestern Railway station of Sand Rock is on Pine River, not far from the old Portage Crossing.— Ed.

29th Wednesday. My people did sixteen pauses today although the water was frequently up to their knees, and they 213 complained a good deal. We are camping at the Rivière des Sapins.³

³ Probably the stream now known as Balsam River, a tributary of the Montreal in northeastern Iron County; see preceding note for its significance in the boundary question. For an ampler report see that of Captain Cram in *Senate Docs.*, 27th Cong., 2nd sess., No. 170.— Ed.

30th Thursday. My people fortunately finished carrying early, for they were beginning to get tired. The road is so bad and there are so many overturned trees, that I was lost for an hour, and should still be so, had I not had a gun.

31st Friday. “L'Epaule de Canard” came to us last night; he is coming to the Grand Portage to see M r MacGillivray. Today we were obliged to make a small raft to cross the Rivière du Milieu,⁴ and we are camped there. I have not seen the water so high for a long time and I am greatly surprised to see my people hold out so long.

⁴ Rivière du Milieu (Middle River) was without doubt the West branch of Montreal River, which was about half way from Long (or Portage) Lake to Lake Superior. Some of the early maps give the Indian name of this stream as Gogogashugun.— Ed.

June 2nd, Sunday. The rain prevented us from carrying. We have done only seven pauses since Friday. There are billions of flies! We are weak owing to bad food, and we shall have none at all unless the weather changes.

Library of Congress

3rd Monday. After I had written yesterday, the weather became fine and we did ten pauses with one half the baggage. Today, it is raining hard and we are completely weather-bound.

4th Tuesday. "Le Canard" started this morning for Lake Superior because we have provisions only for two days more with great economy, and also to tell the Savages of the Mauvaise Rivière to bring us some fish, if they have any.

The weather is still cloudy; drops of rain fall from time to time. Nevertheless, my people are carrying, but they take the precaution to cover the packs with their blankets at every trip. The only food remaining is ten quarts of corn not treated with lye.⁵

⁵ The French expression is "bled non lescivé (lessivé." To soften the grains of Indian corn, make the husk break open, and the kernel floury, French-Canadians put a small quantity of lye in the water while boiling the grain. After that treatment, the corn is known as "lyed corn." It is eaten boiled with pea soup or with milk and sugar.— Crawford Lindsay.

214

5th Wednesday. Today we are in sight of Lake Superior, my people having done 21 pauses yesterday and 20 today. Tonight we are eating our last corn cakes, and tomorrow noon we hope to be at the end of the portage.

6th Thursday. We have at last finished the portage at a quarter past twelve, all very tired. I shall not start from here before tomorrow to give my people a rest. I was lucky enough to get four sturgeon from the Savages today, which will, I hope, last me to la Pointe, where I left a sack of corn in a cache⁶ last autumn. M r Cadotte's eldest son⁷ arrived here at three o'clock in the afternoon with a letter from his father informing me of M r Latour's death.⁸

⁶ For an explanation of the term cache, see *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xviii, p. 279.— Ed.

⁷ Jean Baptiste Cadotte III was called "Gros Cadotte," to distinguish him from his brother, "Petit Cadotte." He seems to have been in the fur-trade with his father, and in 1812 went

Library of Congress

to the aid of the British and fought in several battles. In the Battle of the Thames he was severely wounded, and thereafter received a British pension. He was employed by the American Fur Company in 1819 as a voyageur on the upper Mississippi, and was living as late as 1852. It was perhaps in his honor that the town of Cadott was named in the present Chippewa County, Wis.— Ed.

8 Probably this was Charles Latour, a clerk of the North West Company Stationed in 1799 at Rainy Lake. An employee of the same name was in the Western country as early as 1789.— Ed.

8th Saturday. I started today from the Montreal River and arrived at la Pointe, M r Cadotte's fort. While walking beside the lake I found a white fish half eaten by the eagles and half rotten, but not sufficiently so to prevent my eating it after roasting it on a spit.

10th Monday. I had my canoe prepared yesterday to start in company with the Messieurs Cadette. Their people came from 215 the Rivière Mauvaise with a canoe load of Sturgeon so we could not run short. This did very well, and today at 10 o'clock we left la Pointe to come and camp at the Rivière Ciscaouette in the evening.

15th Saturday. At 3 o'clock in the morning on Tuesday we left the Rivière Ciscaouette and camped the same evening at Fond du Lee where, being detained by wind and rain, M r Cotton⁹ was good enough to assist us with a sack of corn and a brasse of tobacco. On Thursday we left Fond du Lac to go and camp at the Rivière aux Groseilles.¹⁰ On Friday we camped at the Rivière à la Framboise,¹¹ and today, after a long day under sail we are camped in sight of lie du Grand Portage.

⁹ Cotton, who in 1799 is listed as Jean Coton, belonged to the Fond du Lac Department for several years. In 1802 William Morrison found him at Fond du Lac as he passed through. During the winter of 1803–04 Cotton was in charge of a fort on Red Lake River, probably at the mouth of the Clearwater, where Alexander Henry the younger visited him. He seems, however, to have been in the Fond du Lac Department, and to have entered

Library of Congress

and returned via Lake Superior. Apparently he left the fur-trade soon after this meeting with Malhiot, since his name is not given among the list of employees after the coalition.—Ed.

10 The name for this small river in Lake County, Minn., not far above Encampment Island, has had a curious history. It is first marked upon Coronelli's map of 1688 as *Rivière des Groseliers*, being probably so named in honor of the early fur-trader and explorer Médard Chouart, sieur de Groseilliers, who with his confrère Radisson was, so far as we know, the first white man in this region. The name persists on the maps with various spellings throughout the eighteenth century, but apparently was corrupted by the voyageurs into *Rivière aux Groseilles*; so, when Bayfield surveyed Lake Superior in 1823, he gave to it the English translation of the French word, Gooseberry River. Such it remains to the present.—Ed.

11 Modern maps indicate no *Rivière à la Framboise*, or Raspberry River. between Gooseberry River and Grand Portage. Possibly the stream called Indian Camp River is meant; it is about as far from Gooseberry River as the latter is from Fond du Lac.—Ed.

216

LIST OF GOODS GIVEN FOR PROVISIONS AND EXPENSES OF THE FORT OF LAG DU FLAMBEAU¹²

12 The following lists were found among the Masson MSS in the library of McGill University, Montreal. They evidently accompanied Malhiot's journal of events at Lac du Flambeau, and give interesting sidelights on the economics of the fur-trade.—Ed.

1804 Plus

August 3rd Gave old La pierre à affiler for the meat of a deer and four other quarters of meat, A keg of four pots¹³

Library of Congress

13 “Pot” is an old French measure for liquids, containing somewhat less than two litres, and equivalent in English measure to about two quarts. The “keg of four pots” was thus a two-gallon keg. Ed.

of mixed rum 5

4th To old Plat coté for ten quarters of meat, a keg of six pots 6½

6th to old Lacramailliere, for the meat of a bear, seven chopines¹⁴

14 “Chopine” is an ancient measure for liquids, containing about one fourth of a pot, and nearly equivalent to an English pint.— Ed.

of rum 2

To Bazinet, a Double handful of Powder 1

a Handful of shot 1

two Brasses¹⁵

15 “Brasse” is a French linear measure, equivalent to 5.318 English feet, something near a fathom. There is evidence, however, that in the middle of the eighteenth century a “brasse” was used for a shorter measure, about the length of the fore-arm. Probably this was the one here meant. The tobacco was braided or twisted into long strands, and then measured by the brasse.— Ed.

of tobacco 4

Malhiot, a Brasse of tobacco 2

8th To Gauthier, one do 2

11th To one of the children of old La chouëtte for ten quarters of meat, a keg of four pots 5

Library of Congress

18th To Brulé and Petit Bled for going and bringing me a package each in the Portage, a keg of four pots 5

two double-handfuls of powder 2

two Handfuls of shot 2

half a Brasse of tobacco 1

22nd To old Plat coté for a sack of wild rice, a keg of four pots 5

23rd To La Petite Racine, for half a sack of wild rice and one of pumpkins, seven chopines of rum 3

25th To La vielle Francaise, for a quarter of meat and a dish of wild rice, half a brasse of tobacco 1

25th To the Savages of Lac du Flambeau, for three sacks of wild rice, a large Keg and a Brasse of tobacco 22

217

To Barceloux for four quarters of meat, a keg of four pots 5

To Bazinet's brother-in-law, for a sack of wild rice, seven bottles 16

16 The French word is "fiolles," a popular term for a glass flask or bottle.— Ed.

3

To the mother-in-law of La Chouette's son, for a sack of wild rice, seven chopines of rum 3

27th To the wife of Petit Jour, for two dishes of wild rice, thirty branches of porcelain beads 17

Library of Congress

17 "Branche de rassade" is the phrase in the original, indicating the strings or bunches of porcelain beads which were put up for the fur-trade.— Ed.

1

To Gauthier, a brasse of tobacco. 2

September 3rd To L'Epaule de Canard, for a sack of wild rice, a keg of six pots 6½

To La Grande Loutre, for three sacks of wild rice, half a Keg of rum 10

To the son of La moitié de Chef, for three sacks of Corn and one of wild rice, a large Keg
20

To Le Petit Canard, for three quarters of Meat, seven chopines of rum 3

To Various Savages, for wild rice, ¼ lb vermilion 18

18 Vermilion was much used in the fur-trade, for the savages bought it for ornamentation of both face and body. It was powdered, and sold in small fiat packages; examples are shown in the museum of the Wisconsin Historical Society.— Ed.

1½

To L'Outarde, to stop him from going on the war-path, a large Keg and a Brasse of tobacco 22

Gave to the mother of Le Canard, for half a sack of wild rice, a piece of Braid 2

To three young men, for four Dishes of wild rice, Three knives and a looking-glass 2

5th To La Feuille, for a Bastard Canoe, 19

19 For this expression, see *ante*, p. 203, note 88.— Ed.

Library of Congress

Three Brasses of Common cloth @ 4 plus each 12

Two blankets, two points, @ 3 do do 6

A Capot of 4 ells @ 4 do 4

A do 3 do @ 3 do 9

6th To old La Chouette, a large keg to be traded for provisions 20

To Bazinet, another do 20

To the son of La moitié de Chef do 20

To Petit Jour, a Keg of 4 pots for the same purpose 5

A large Keg given by myself for provisions 20

Sent to ??? de la Truite by L'épaule de Canard, a large keg to be traded for provisions 20

Sent by Le Taureau to the village of La Tortue, a large keg 20

218

9th Gave Gauthier Two Cotton Shirts 6

A Brasse of tobacco to smoke 2

Malhiot do do 2

Bazinet do do 2

12th To Several women for husking five sacks of Corn, ½ lb Porcelain beads and ½ a
Brasse of tobacco 2

Library of Congress

13th To Folle Avoine, for four sacks of Corn, half a Keg and a Brasse of tobacco 12

28th To La Grande Loutre, for a small Fishing Canoe, a piece of Braid 2

To La Feuille, for a sack of Corn, a keg of four pots 5

To Le Mufle d'original for two sacks of Corn, a keg of six pots 6½

To Barceloux, for five sacks of corn, half a keg and half a Brasse of tobacco 12

To Le Gros Egle, for six sacks of corn, half a keg and a brasse of tobacco 12

Sent By L'outarde to Lac de la Truite a large keg 20

29th To Le Chef des oiseaux, for four sacks of Corn, half a Keg and half a brasse of tobacco 11

To Gauthier, a Brasse of tobacco to smoke 2

To Bazinet do do do 2

Gave le Mufle d'Original, for two sacks of corn, a keg of four pots 5

To La Feuille for a sack of Corn, a keg of two pots 3

October 1st To Le Petit-Jour for seven maskinongé, six ducks, and four musk-rats, a Keg of four pots 5

6th To the men, a file for the use of the fort 1

To an Old woman for having scraped six Deer skins, six Brasses of braid and a comb 1

Six Deer skins used for the windows 20

Library of Congress

20 Windows were usually made of parchment, scraped thin enough to be translucent.—
Ed.

2

15 To Gauthier, one Brasse of tobacco to smoke 2

To Malhiot do do 2

Expended, by drams, from the third of August to this date, two and a half large Kegs of
mixed rum 50

18 To Durocher, a double handful of powder and a handful of shot 2

To Gauthier and Little Cadotte, each as much 4

To Barceloux, provided he will give Trembé food all winter, A keg of four pots 5

Sixty bullets 2

Two double-handfuls of powder 2

24 Gave Martineau, for his engagement feast, half a Brasse of tobacco and a deer skin 1
219

26 To old La Chouette for the meat of thirty musk-rats, two outardes, 21

21 Outarde is the French-Canadian term for the wild-goose (*bernicla canadensis*).— Ed.
and six ducks, five pots of rum 6

27 To Brunot and Beaulieu, on their engagement, half a brasse of tobacco and a deer skin
each 3

Library of Congress

Nov. 4th To an old woman, for some Corn, a Brasse of cloth 4

For two rolls of bark, a box with a burning glass 2

10 To Gautier, a Brasse of tobacco 2

26 To the Brother-in-law of la Chouette's son, for one hundred white fish, twelve bottles of rum 6

half a brasse of tobacco 1

Malhiot, a Brasse of tobacco 2

To the men, one file 1

December 10 To an old woman, for dressing six deer skins, one Pair of leggings 2

To the same old woman for lacing four pairs of snow-shoes, one pair of sleeves 2

25 To the same old woman, for cutting a doe skin into thongs, a foot and a half of tobacco $\frac{1}{2}$

30 To Gauthier, one Brasse of tobacco 2

1805

January 1st To my men, as a new year's present, five chopines of high-wines 5

A Brasse of tobacco 2

To the men of X Y, a chopine of high-wines 22

22 See Alexander Henry's description of the New Year's feast at his Red River post, in 1801. Coues, *Henry's Journals*, p. 162.— Ed.

Library of Congress

1

15 Malhiot, a Brasse of tobacco 2

25th To Gauthier do do 2

February 28 To Gauthier do do 2

To Le Canard, for 15 lbs of bear's grease, 4 plus worth of ammunition 4

To L'outarde do do do 4

To La Chouette do do do 4

March 1st To old La Chouette, for 7 maskinongé and 4 lbs of grease, 1 Keg of 4 pots 5

10 To the son of old La chouette for ten maskinongé, a small Keg of 4 pots 5

14 To L'Egle for seven quarters of meat, three gallons of rum and ½ brasse of tobacco 9

To The sister of L'Epaule de canard, for half a sack of corn, two double handfuls of powder and 60 Bullets 4

Gave an old woman, for Lacing two pairs of snow-shoes, a looking glass and ½ Brasse of tobacco 2

219

To La Blanche, for guiding my men to Roi's at L'Anse, 23

23 See the journal for March 14, 1805, *ante*.— Ed.

4 pots of rum 5

a Brasse of tobacco 2

Library of Congress

For ammunition 4

16 To L'outarde for two loads of fresh meat, a keg of six pots 8

To Gauthier a brasse of tobacco to smoke 2

To Malhiot do do do 2

26 To L'Epaule de Canard, for the meat of a bear, a two-gallon keg 5

29 To L'Epaule de Canard, for the meat of two Moose and of two bears, a large keg 20

27th Gave old La Chouette, for one half of the meat of a bear and for 4 quarters of meat, 4 pots of rum 5

28 To Barceloux, for 7 quarters of meat, 4 pots of rum 5

April 6th To the son of Le cioux for going to get George Yarns at his Father-in-law's, 4 plus on his credit 4

3 chopines of rum 1

9 To Le Chef des Oiseaux, for half a keg of Sugar²⁴

24 Maple sugar, which the Indians had just been making.— Ed.

6 pots of rum 6

15 To Gauthier, a Brasse of tobacco to smoke 2

To Malhiot do do 2

17 To Old La Chouette, for four quarters of meat, five chopines of rum 4

Library of Congress

25 To the son of La Pierre à affiller for fifteen pounds of sugar, s pot of rum 2

May 7 To Old La Chouette for a Northern canoe, 25

25 The Northern canoe was the largest made and used on the northern lakes. A fine description, with illustration, is found in Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal of Travels* (Albany, 1821), pp. 68–70. He says they were thirty-five feet in length by six in width, and capable of carrying four tons.— Ed.

a large keg of rum 20

8th To the war-party, for an old canoe, a double handful of powder and thirty bullets 2

11 To the son of old La Chouette for a fishing canoe, 10 plus from his credit 10

18 To the young men of La Chouette, for 3 quarters of meat, 2 double handfuls of powder and 30 Bullets 3

Gauthier, a brasse of tobacco 2

Malhiot 2

688 ½

Plus

221

STATEMENT OF THE GOODS SENT TO THE OUISECONSAINT CONFIDED TO THE CARE AND CHARGE OF J. BT. BAZINET AND J. Q. RACICOT BY FR. VT. MALHIOT

Lac du Flambeau, October 4th 1804.

October 4th, 1804 Plus

Library of Congress

3 Pieces common Cloth, blue @ 40 Plus the piece 120

3 Brasses do H. B.26

26 Probably a kind of cloth manufactured especially for the Hudson's Bay Company and their trade.— Ed.

@ 4 do the brasse 12

4 do do Scarlet @ 6 do do 24

4 do Calico @ 2 do do 8

Blankets 3- points27

27 For the explanation of this term, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 400, note 2.— Ed.

@ 4 do each 8

11 do 2½ do @ 3 do do 33

6 do 2 do @ 2 do do 12

6 do 1½ do @ 2 do do 12

6 do 1 do @ 1 do do 6

3 Capots 4 ells @ 3 do do 12

3 do 3½ do @ 3½do do 10½

3 do 3 do @ 3 do do 9

4 do 2½ do @ 2½ do do 10

Library of Congress

1 do 1½ do @ 1½ do do 1½

4 do 1 do @ 1 do do 4

8 Rolls of braid @ 2 plus each 16

3 Skeins of wool @ 2 do do 6

2 Laced caps @ 2 do do 4

1 Chief's coat 8

1 Chief's shirt 2

2 Hats @ 2 plus each 4

1 Plume for hat 1

3 Small children's shirts @ 1 do do 3

2 Black silk handkerchiefs @ 2 do do 4

3 Packages of White porcelain beads @ 4 do do 12

1 Dozen large knives @ 4 for one plus 3

6 Fine knives @ ½ a plus each 3

1 Dozen of Steels for striking fire @ 6 for a plus 2

Dozen Awls @ 1 dozen for do 2

3 Dozen Wormers28

Library of Congress

28 A wormer was a small coil of iron or steel, used in cleaning a gun.— Ed.

@ do do 3

1 Dozen horn combs @ 6 for do 2

6 Box-wood Combs @ 3 for do 2

½ Roll of wire for snares 3

3 Packs of cards @ 1 plus each 3

2 Boxes with burning glass @ 2 do do 4

2 pieces of ribbon @ 3 do do 6

3 Looking-glasses @ 1 do do 3

3 Steel boxes @ 1 do do 3

50 Needles @ 25 for 1 plus 2

222

Silverware

40 Pairs Small Earrings @ 10 prs for a plus 4

40 pair, medium sized do @ 10 prs do do 4

50 Large brooches @ 15 do do 3

100 Small do for the hair @ 20 do do 5

3 Large double crosses @ 2 plus each 6

Library of Congress

6 medium-sized do @ 1 do do 6

1 Pair Large Armlets 6

1 Pair medium-sized do 4

1 Pair do do 3

50 Branches of porcelain beads @ 10 branches for a plus 5

24 large beads 29

29 The French phrase is "Noyaux porcelaine." We are informed by a former Indian trader that this refers to a large coarse bead prized by the tribesmen.— Ed.

@ 3 for do 8

1 Silver shell 1

Entire Pieces

4 Kegs, double strength @ 40 plus each 160

1 do Powder 50

1 sack of bullets 40

½ do beaver shot 25

1 Roll tobacco for snuff 60

1 gun 10

2 traps @ 5 Dins each 10

Library of Congress

Ironmongery

1 Pair of spear heads 1

2 half axes @ 2 plus each 4

5 Tomahawks @ 1 do do 5

Utensils & Tools

2 Large axes @ 3 plus each 6

1 Auger 1

1 Hoe 1

1 Padlock 1

1 Spigot 1

1 Quart pot 1

1 do of a chopine

1 do of a half-chopine

1 Gill measure

2

1 dram measure³⁰

³⁰ The French word is "miserable," which is argot for a small glass of spirits.— Crawford Lindsay.

Library of Congress

1 Brass kettle 7

1 Tin do 3

Provisions

18 Bushels of Corn @ 4 Dins per bushel 72

1½ do wild rice @ 5 do do 3

223

100 lbs flour

½ Barrel of Pork

1 do Sugar

½ lb of Pepper

6 Quarts of salt

½lb of Tea

The 22nd February 1805—The following articles Plus

4 Blankets, 3 points @ 4 plus each 16

2 do 2 do @ 2 do do 4

1 Capot 3½ ells 3½

1 do 3 do 3

2 Rolls of braid @ 2 plus each 4

Library of Congress

1 Brasse cloth H. B. 4

3 do do, common @ 3 plus each 9

1 do do, scarlet 6

10 Verges³¹

³¹ "Verge" is a French linear measure, equal to an English ell.—Ed.

ribbon 2 verges for a plus 5

36 Flints 2

18 Pairs Earrings $2\frac{1}{2}$

7 Clusters [of beads] 2

1 Pair Armlets 4

4 pots of rum, double strength 10

980 $\frac{1}{2}$

May 18th

1 Sack of Corn 3

983 $\frac{1}{2}$

Return

May 21, 1805 Plus

69 Large bear skins @ 2 plus each 138

Library of Congress

18 Small do do 18

47 Deer Skins @ 2 for a plus $23\frac{1}{2}$

327 Musk-rat skins @ 10 do do $32\frac{3}{4}$

68 Beaver skins, making 58

3 Lynx skins @ 2 plus each 6

20 Otter skins @ do do 40

5 Fisher skins 5

100 Marten skins @ 2 for a plus 50

$\frac{1}{2}$ a Moose skin 1

Goods Brought Back

1 Capot of $3\frac{1}{2}$ ells $3\frac{1}{2}$

Silverware

3 Large double crosses 3

8 Pairs of earrings $1\frac{1}{2}$

30 Small brooches for the hair 1

Utensils

1 Large brass kettle 7

Library of Congress

1 Small tin do 3

2 Large axes 4

224

1 Quart pot 1

1 Chopine do 1

1 half-chopine do 1

1 Small do 2

1 Spigot 1

1 Funnel 1

1 Padlock 1

1 Northern canoe 30

5 Brasses of bark $2\frac{1}{2}$

1 Keg of gum 32

32 Both bark and gum were used in the repairing of canoes, and were necessary for any extended voyage.— Ed.

10

445 $\frac{3}{4}$

INVENTORY OF THE GOODS REMAINING AT LAC DU FLAMBEAU AFTER THE CREDITS GIVEN, AND WHAT WAS SENT TO OUISSECONSAINT AND THE AUTUMN TRADE

15th October 1804

3 Pieces common cloth

8 Brasses Blue cloth H. B.

4 do Scarlet do

6 do rough³³

³³ The French term is “drap motton,” i.e. mottoné—rough, like Irish frieze.— Crawford Lindsay.

do

7 Verges calico

2 Blankets 3 points

19 do 2½ do

8 do 2 do

2 do 1½ do

6 do 1 do

5 Capots of 4 ells

3 do 3½ do

Library of Congress

3 do 3 do

4 do 2½ do

2 do 1½ do

3 do 1 do

14 Rolls of braid

2 Dozen Large knives

½ Dozen Small do

½ Dozen fine do

1½ lb Vermilion

4 Small shirts

5 Skeins of wool

6 kegs of rum, double strength

1½ do of powder

2 sacks of Bullets

½ do of Shot

1 Roll of tobacco

18 Carrots do

STATEMENT OF THE GOODS GIVEN TO THE SAVAGES FOR NOTHING

Day of the month Rum by large kegs Rum by the Pot Rum by the chopine Rum by the half-chopine Chiefs' coats Chiefs' shirts Chiefs' plumes Chiefs' hats Laced capots Carrots of Tobacco Tobacco by the brasse Tobacco by the half-brasse Tobacco by the foot Tobacco by the pouch Powder by double handfuls Bullets Beaver shot by the handful Flints Wormers Steels for 1804 Names of Savages July 25 Les Grandes Oreilles 7 1 Le Genon & Band 8 2 20 2 August 3 La pierre à afflier & band 6 1 4 Le Plat coté 3 1 7 Lacramafillère 2 1 8 La chouette 1 9 Le Petit Forgeron 1 1 30 1 2 1 11 La chouette & Band 4 1 2 60 2 4 4 20 La Petite Racine 4 6 21 L'Outarde's young men 6 1 23 Le Chef des Oiseaux & band 8 3 Le Muffe d'Original & band 1 6 1 1 1 1 2 La Feuille 4 1 La Tête grise 4 1 La Loche 4 1 La Cornelile 4 1 The Brother of La Fouille 6 1 21 L'Outarde & Band 2 September 3rd L'Outarde & Band 2 4 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 La Grande Loutre & Band 1 4 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 Le Canard & Band 8 1 1 1 5 To The people of Lac du Flambeau 4 1 3 To two young men of Vieux Désert 3 1 11 La Petite Racine 1 1 30 1 4 1 15 To Lachouette's young men 2 18 Le Petit Tonner 1 1 30 1 4 1 24 To the people of le Vieux Désert 1 27 L'Epaule de Canard 1 28 L'Egle and Band 1 1 1 1 2 3 90 3 24 6 [??] Barceloux and band 8 1 1 1 1 1 2 60 2 5 2 [??] L'épaule de canard 4 1 1 2 60 2 6 2 [??] 29 Barceloux and band 1 2 60 1 4 2 [??] The son of La pierre à afflier 6 1 1 [??] October 3 La Chouette & Band 2 1 5 1 2 1 1 1 3 1 4 120 4 15 4 [??] 4 To Businet's Brothers-in-law & some other young men 12 6 8 2 [??] Le Muffe d'Original and Band 6 1 4 6 2 30 2 12 2 [??] 7 79 43 14 4 11 4 4 5 1 19 13 28 20 22 590 21 87 27 [??] Rum by the half-chopine Chiefs' coats Chiefs' shirts Chiefs' hats Laced capots Carrots of Tobacco Tobacco by the brasse Tobacco by the half-brasse Tobacco by the foot Tobacco by the pounce Powder by double handfuls Bullets Beaver shot by the handful Flints Wormers Steels for striking fire Awls Needles Small sleighbells Vermillion by the pinch Braid by the brasse Large common knives Small common knives Horn combs Box-wood combs Thread 1 8 2 20 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 30 1 2 1 1 1 2 3 1 1 1 1 2 60 3 4 4 4 4 8 6 6 1 2 3 1 1 1 1 2 3 1 1 1 1 1 2 12 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 3 1 1 1 30 1 4 1 1 1 2 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 2 1 1 30 1 4 1 1 1 2 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 3 90 24 6 6 12 24 8 8 5 4 6 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 60 2 6 2 2 3 6 3 4 2 1 2 1 1 1 2 60 2 6 2 2 1 8 4 8 2 2 2 2 1 6 1 1 5 1 2 1 1 1 3 1 4 129 4 15 4 4 6 12 12 8 6 4 4 4 2 1 6 6 2 2 12 6 2 2 1 4 6 2 29 2 12 2 2 3 6 4 4 3 1 14 4 11 4 4 5 1 19 13 28 20 22 590 21 87 27 27 37 70 24 60 34 22 17 20 7 7 Day of the month Rum by large kegs Rum by the Pot Rum by the chopine Rum by the half-chopine Chiefs' coats Chiefs' shirts Chiefs' hats Laced capots Carrots of Tobacco Tobacco by the brasse Tobacco by the half-brasse Tobacco by the foot Tobacco by the pounce Powder by double handfuls Bullets Shot by the handful Flints

Library of Congress

Names of Savages 1804 Brought forward 7 79 43 14 4 11 4 4 3 1 19 13 28 20 22 590 21
[??] October 13 La Feuille 4 1 1 30 1 La Grande Loutre & band 4 1 1 3 6 3 90 3 [??] La
Feuille's brother 4 1 1 30 1 Old Cioux & band 4 3 1 1 4 2 60 2 La Tête Grise 6 1 1 30 1
[??] 17 Barceloux & Band 4 1 1 6 1 30 [??] 26 Old La chouette 6 1 November 10 Old La
chouette 4 1 6 2 60 1 [??] December 19 To the people of Lake Superior 2 1 1 30 [??]
1805 February 15 To Legenou's son 2 1 19 To Old La Chouète & Band 5 1 To L'outarde,
L'epaul de Canard & Bands 10 3 20 To old La Chouette & Band 8 1 1 30 1 To L'outarde,
L'epuel de Canard & Bands 14 2 25 To Le Chouette & Band 16 To L'Outarde & band 4 To
La Loche 4 1 to Le Porcipique 4 March 3 to le vieux Sorcier & band 3 4 1 8 1 30 10 to La
Chonette's son 1 1 14 To L'Egle and Band 4 2 1 1 2 4 1 30 [??] Le Canard & Band 6 1 1
18 To L'outarde & Band 1 2 19 To le Petit Tonner and band 12 1 1 4 1 30 [??] Le Chef
des Oiseaux & band 6 1 La Tête Grise & band 6 1 27 Barceloux & band 3 1 29 Barceloux,
L'Egle and Bands 2 1 April 9 To le Chef des Oiseaux and Bands 3 1 1 7 171 105 24 4 11 4
4 5 1 24 29 47 58 38 1009 [1670] 31 145 Rum by the chopine Rum by half-chopine Chiefs'
coats Chiefs' shirts Chiefs' hats Laced capots Carrots of Tobacco Tobacco by the brasse
Tobacco by the half-brasse Tobacco by the foot Tobacco by the pounce Powder by double
handfuls Bullets Shot by the handful Flints Wormers Steels for striking fire Awls Needles
Small sleighbells Vermillion by the pinch Braid by the brasse Large common knives Small
common knives Horn combs Box-wood combs Thread 43 14 4 11 4 4 3 1 19 13 28 20 22
590 21 87 27 27 37 70 24 60 34 22 77 20 7 7 1 1 30 1 4 1 1 1 2 1 2 1 1 1 1 3 6 3 90 3
24 5 5 8 16 6 8 6 3 4 1 1 30 1 4 1 1 1 2 1 3 1 1 4 2 60 2 4 2 2 2 4 3 2 1 1 2 6 1 1 30 1 2 1
1 1 2 2 2 1 1 1 6 1 30 2 6 1 1 6 2 60 1 4 1 1 1 30 4 2 1 5 1 [??] 3 1 1 30 1 6 12 4 2 2 12
12 6 4 3 1 1 4 4 1 8 1 30 1 1 [??] 1 1 2 4 1 30 6 2 2 2 12 2 [??] 1 1 [??] 2 [??] 1 1 4
1 30 4 4 1 1 3 1 1 [??] 1 1 [??] 24 4 11 4 4 5 1 24 29 47 58 38 1007 [1970] 31 145 29
29 52 130 54 87 52 20 28 10 9 Day of month Rum by large kegs Rum by the Pot Rum by
the chopine Rum by the half-chopine Chiefs' coats Chiefs' shirts Chiefs' plumes Chiefs'
hats Laced capots Carrots of Tobacco Tobacco by the brasse Tobacco by the half-brasse
Tobacco by the foot Tobacco by the pounce Powder by double handfuls Bullets Beavery
shot by the handful Flints Names of Savages 1805 Brought forward 7 171 105 24 4 11 4 4
5 1 24 29 47 58 38 1007 31 145 April 11 Le Vieu cioux & Band 8 1 2 17 Old La Chouette
and Band 6 1 21 La Feuille 1 23 To the young men of L'Outarde 1 1 24 L'Egle's brother 1
4 25 The son of La Plerie à affiler 4 1 L'Outarde 6 May 1 To le Chef des Oiseaux & Band
8 1 8 The war-party 1 2 60 4 10 The war-party 1 May 19 Old La Chouette and Band 8 2
1 2 60 6 21 To le Petit Oiseau and Band 3 1 7 198 107 [117] 30 4 11 4 4 5 1 25 34 50 61
42 1127 [1199] 31 161 Rum by the chopine Rum by the half-chopine Chiefs' coats Chiefs'
shirts Chiefs' plumes Chiefs' hats Laced capots Carrots of Tobacco Tobacco by the brasse

Library of Congress

Tobacco by the half-brasse Tobacco by the foot Tobacco by the pousse Powder by double handfuls Bullets Shot by the handful Flints Wormers Steels for striking fire Awls Needles Small sleighbells Vermillion by the pinch Braid by the brasse Large common knives Small common knives Combs. 105 21 4 11 4 4 5 1 24 29 47 58 38 1007 31 143 39 39 32 130 54 87 38 27 20 28 6 1 2 1 1 1 2 6 1 1 1 1 4 10 2 1 2 2 1 4 2 1 6 2 1 2 2 4 1 1 1 2 60 4 2 2 6 2 4 1 1 2 1 2 60 6 2 12 12 4 4 1 1 107 [117] 30 4 11 4 4 5 1 25 34 50 61 42 1127 [1190] 31 161 46 42 60 154 78 99 57 28 24 33 1 225

INVENTORY OF THE FURS OF THE AUTUMN TRADE

5th October 1804—Lac Du Flambeau

528 Deer skins

16 Bear do

840 Muskrat

44 Otter

7 Marten

1 Mink

Provisions

40 minots³⁴

³⁴ A minot is an old French measure of capacity, containing somewhat more than a bushel; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 252.— Ed.

of Corn and wild rice.

ACCOUNT BOOK FOR DROUINE³⁵

Library of Congress

35 For the significance of this term see *ante*, p. 200, note 86. The methods of the traders are clearly indicated by this book, each of the voyageurs and interpreters being entrusted with a small outfit, and sent out to a winter camp of some Indians supposed to have furs. In the original account book the outfits are entered upon one page and the returns opposite; for purposes of comparison we have made the return from each drouine follow the outfit entry. The outfit sent to Wisconsin (Ouisconsaint) by Bazinet and Racicot is practically a part of this book for drouine; but being so much more considerable, is given a separate entry.— Ed.

Lac Du Flambeau 4th August 1804

August 4th, 1804 Plus

Sent to Ouisconsaint by Bazinet, the following goods:36

36 This would seem to have been a brief trial trip, followed by that of October 4, entered *ante*. pp. 221–224.— Ed.

1 Piece common Blue cloth 50

3 Blankets 3 points @ 5 plus each 15

9 do 2½ do @ 4 do do 36

2 do 2 do @ 3 do do 6

2 do 1½ do @ 2 do do 4

2 Capots of 4 Ells @ 5 do do 10

2 do 3½ do @ 4 do do 8

Library of Congress

1 do 2½ do @ 2½ do do 2½

1 do 2 do @ 2 do do 2

1 do 1½ do @ 1½ do do 1½

3 Rolls of braid @ 2 do do 6

1 Package of porcelain Beads 3 plus 6

1 lb Vermilion 3 do 3

1 silk handkerchief 2 do 2 15

226

1 Piece of ribbon 5 do 5

1 Dozen Large Knives @ 4 for 1 plus 3

15 lbs. Beaver Shot @ 1 plus per lb 15

10 lbs. bullets @ 1 do do 10

18 Brasses of tobacco @ 2 plus per brasse 36

2 Carrots do @ 5 plus each 10

2½ kegs of mixed rum @ 10 do do 25

6 lbs. of powder @ 1 do do 6

259

Return

Library of Congress

August 10th, 1804 Plus

222 Deer skins @ 2 for 1 plus 111

1 Bear skin 2

90 Muskrat skins @ 10 for 1 plus 9

3 Otter skins @ 2 plus each 6

1 Beaver skin 1 1

For meat pounded for pemmican³⁷

³⁷ Pemmican is a food much used in northern latitudes. It consists of equal parts of dried meat, pounded or pulverized, and some kind of fat or tallow. When properly made, it will keep for many months, and formed a staple food in the fur-trade. It is still prepared for Arctic regions. See account in "Franchère's Narrative" in Thwaites *Early Western Travels*, vi, p. 380.— Ed.

5

For quarters of meat 5

Given on credit to various Savages for 15

Given a commission for 50

Goods brought back

3 Blankets of 3 points @ 5 plus each 15

219

Library of Congress

October 15th Plus

To the Vieux Désert by Rémie Tremblé

1 Blanket of 3 points 4

2 do 2½ do 6

1 Capot of 4 ells 4

1 do 3½ do 3

1 do 3 do 3

1 do 2½ do 2

2 Brasses of common cloth @ 3 plus each 6

1 Pair Scarlet leggings 2

1 Piece of braid 2

2 Black silk handkerchiefs @ 2 plus each 4

1 Carrot of tobacco 5

3 Brasses do @ 2 plus per brasse 6

1 Tobacco box 2

1 Breech-clout 1

6 Horn combs and 4 of Box-wood 2

Library of Congress

6 Packages of porcelain beads 6

227

1 Small child's shirt and one small do Capot 2

3 Dozen rings 3

1 Dozen awls and 1 Dozen wormers 1

For wool 5

1 Fine knife 1

3 Small knives and one flint 1½

9 Double handfuls of powder 9

300 Gun bullets 10

90½ Plus38

38 There were no returns, because Tremblé went on to the post at l'Anse. See *ante*, pp. 207–209.— Ed.

Return

November 2nd, 1804 Plus

Sent to la Pulse by Gauthier

1 keg of 4 pots of mixed rum 5

1 Brasse of common cloth 3

Library of Congress

1 Blanket of 2½ points 3

½ Brasse of tobacco 1

½ Roll of braid 1

For porcelain beads 1

14

Return

November 5th, 1804 Plus

2½ Sacks of corn @ 3 plus per sack 7½

4 Muskrats and for dry fish 1

Goods brought back

1 Blanket of 2½ points 3

½ Piece of braid 1

12½

December 20th Plus

To Lake Superior by George Yarns and Cadotte

2 Brasses of Blue cloth H. B. 8

2 do common do 6

Library of Congress

1 Blanket of 3 points 4

1 do 2½ do 3

1 do 2 do 2

1 do 1 do 1

1 Capot of 4 ells 4

2 Rolls of braid @ 2 plus each 4

1 Verge calico 1

3 Double handfuls of powder 3

100 Gun bullets 3

For porcelain beads 3

3 Black silk handkerchiefs @ 2 plus each 6

2 Large and 2 small knives 1

3 lbs shot 3

3 Sacks of corn @ 3 plus each 9

1 Kettle 5½

66½

228

Return

Library of Congress

December 23rd Plus

30 Beaver skins, making 16½

4 Otter skins @ 2 plus each 8

7 Marten skins @ 2 for a plus 3½

6 Mink skins @ 2 do do 3

8 Husk rat skins ½

Goods brought back

1 Blanket of 3 points 4

do 2 do 2

2 Brasses of cloth H. B. 8

2Rolls of braid 4

1 Silk handkerchief 2

For porcelain beads 2

100 Gun bullets 3

For beaver shot 2

58½

February 18th, 1805 Plus

Library of Congress

To the lodge of le Genou By George Yarns

1 Brasse of cloth H. B.

1 small wide-mouthed kettle 2

15 Pairs of Earrings 2

10 Common brooches 1

100 Hair do 30 for 1 plus 3

3 large beads 2

9 Branches of porcelain beads 2

1 Black slik handkerchief 2

1 Pair Scarlet leggings 2

18

Return

February 19, 1805 Plus

4 Beaver skins, making 2½

2 Otter skins @ 2 plus each 4

12 Marten skins @ 2 for a plus 6

Goods brought back

Library of Congress

1 Black silk handkerchief 2

3 large beads 1

9 Branches of porcelain 1

10 Common brooches 1

83 Hair do 2

19½

February 19th Plus

To The Lodge of Les Grandes Oreilles by little Cadotte

1 Brasse of cloth H. B. 4

1 do common do 3

1 Pair Scarlet leggings 2

2 Rolls of braid 4

1 Black silk handkerchief 2

2 chopines of rum 1

16

229

Return

February 23rd Plus

Library of Congress

2 Beaver skins 2

3 Marten skins 1½

Goods brought back

1 Brasse of cloth H. B. 4

1 Pair Scarlet leggings 2

2 Rolls of braid 4

1 Black silk handkerchief 2

15½

February 20th, 1805 Plus

Sent By Gauthier and George Yarns to old La Chouette, Le Canard, and L'Outarde

1 Brasse cloth H. B. 4

2 do Common do 6

1 Blanket 2½ points 3

1 do 2 do 2

1 do 1½ do 2

1 do 1 do 1

2 Pairs Scarlet leggings 4

Library of Congress

2 Double handfuls of powder 2

60 Bullets 2

2 Half axes 4

1½ Brasse of tobacco 3

33

Return

February 21st, 1805 Plus

2 Bear skins @ 2 plus each 4

i Small do 1

6 Beaver skins, making 5

2 Mink skins 1½

9 Muskrat skins

Goods brought back

1 Blanket 2½ points 3

2 Pairs Scarlet leggings 4

60 Bullets 2

2 Double handfuls of powder 2

Library of Congress

Given on credit for 5

27½

February 26th Plus

By George Yarns to the lodge of La Moitiéde Chef

2 Brasses common cloth 6

1 Pair Scarlet leggings 2

2 Pieces Braid 4

2 Blankets 2½ points 6

1 do 2 do 2

1 Child's shirt 1

1 Dozen rings 1

½ Brasse of tobacco 1

23

230

Return

February 26th Plus

1 Bear skin 2

3 Otter skins @ plus 6

Library of Congress

4 Marten skins @ 2 for one plus 2

1 Small Beaver and 4 Muskrat skins 1

6 Deer skins @ 2 for one plus 3

Goods brought back

1 Blanket of 2 points 2

2 Pieces of braid 4

1 pair Scarlet leggings 2

22

March 4th, 1805 Plus

By George Yarns to the Lodge of Le Vieux Sorcier

1 Brasse of cloth H. B 4

1 do common cloth 3

1 Pair of Scarlet leggings 2

1 Roll of braid 2

1 Carrot of Tobacco 5

1 Blanket of 2 points 2

4 Pots of rum 5

Library of Congress

23

Return

March 8th Plus

2 Bear skins @ 2 plus each 4

2 Marten skins 1

Goods brought back

1 Brasse of common cloth 3

1 Pair of Scarlet leggings 2

1 Roll of braid 2

1 Carrot of tobacco 5

1 Blanket of 2 points 2

19

March 14 Plus

Sent to the vieu Désert by Gautier

1 Brasse of common cloth 3

1 Blanket of 2½ points 3

1 do 1½ do 2

Library of Congress

1 Pair Scarlet leggings 2

½ Carrot of tobacco 2

½ Brasse do 1

7 large beads 2

For wool 2

For porcelain Beads 1

For ammunition 2

1 Silk handkerchief 2

4 Pots of rum 5

[27]

231

Return

March 20 Plus

12 Marten skins @ 2 for one plus 6

30 Muskrat skins @ 10 for one plus 3

1 Fisher39

39 Fisher, called by French-Canadians "pecan," is the largest of the weasel family in North America. It is sometimes called black fox. The name fisher is a misnomer, since it does not

Library of Congress

fish, but will eat fish caught by others. Its scientific name is *mustela pennanti*; it is rare in Wisconsin.— Ed.

and one raccoon 1

½ Moose skin 3

Goods brought back

3 Skeins of wool 1½

1 Package of porcelain beads ½

1 Black silk handkerchief 2

6 large beads 2

½ carrot of tobacco 2

4 Quarters of meat 2

23

March 25th

Sent to Lac de La Truite by Gautier

4 Pots of rum 5

40 Small sleigh-bells 3

1 Foot of tobacco ½

8½

Library of Congress

Return

March 26

1 Bear's meat 3

For grease 1

2 Moose muzzles $\frac{1}{2}$

Goods brought back

25 Small sleigh bells 2

$6\frac{1}{2}$

March 27th

Sent by Gautier to Lac de la Truite

1 Keg of mixed rum 20

20

Return

March 29

2 The meat of two Moose 12

2 The meat of two Bears 8

20

232

Library of Congress

March 27, 1805 Plus

Sent by George Yarns to The people of the Lakes

1 Blanket of 3 points 4

2 do 2½ do 6

1 do 2 do 2

1 Brasse cloth H.B. 4

1 do common do 3

1 Pair Scarlet leggings 2

2 Rolls of Braid 4

1 Carrot of tobacco 4

1 Capot 2½ ells 2½

For ammunition 6

6 Pots of rum 6

43½

Return

April 12 Plus

2 Large bear skins @ 2 plus each 4

Library of Congress

1 Small do 1

7 Otter skins @ 2 plus each 14

3 Fisher skins 3

3 Beaver skins 3

4 Marten skins 2

20 Muskrat skins @ 10 for a plus 2

For grease 2

Goods brought back

1 Blanket of 2 points 2

1 Breech-clout 1

60 Bullets 2

36

April 30 Plus

Sent by Gauthier to Portage de la Tortue

2 Brasses common cloth 6

1 do H. B. do 4

1 do Scarlet do 5

Library of Congress

2 do Calico 4

2 Skeins of wool 3

1 Blanket of 2½ points 3

1 do 2 do 2

2 Medium-sized Armlets 3

50 Brooches for the hair 2

½ Brasse of tobacco 1

2 Packages of porcelain beads 2

6 Pots of rum 8

43

Return

May 2 Plus

4 Beaver skins 2½

1 Otter skin 2

15 Muskrat skins 1½

1 A Mocock of sugar40

40 The French word is “makague,” evidently a rendering of the Indian term mocock. The mococks were large vessels of birch bark, into which maple sugar was packed, each

Library of Congress

holding from thirty to eighty pounds. See Mrs. Baird, "Early Days at Mackinac," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 29–33, on sugar-making and its utensils.— Ed.

4

233

Goods brought back

1 Brasse Scarlet cloth 5

1½ do common do 5

1 do H.B. do 4

2 do Calico do 4

2 Medium-sized Armlets 3

50 Brooches for the hair 2

2 Pots of rum 2

35

May 13 Plus

Sent by Gauthier to Portage de la Tortue

½ Keg of rum 10

1 Carrot of tobacco 4

1 Piece of Braid 2

Library of Congress

1 Calico shirt 2

1 Skein of wool 1

19

Return

May 14

1 Otter skin 2

10 Muskrat skins 1

1 Large bear skin 2

1 Skin of a bear-cub with the meat 2

2 Marten skins 1

Goods brought back

½ Carrot of tobacco 2

7 pots of rum 7

17

May 18

Sent by Martineau to Lac de la Folle

2 Brasse of common cloth 6

Library of Congress

1 Blanket of 2½ points 3

1 Small Capot 1

1 Piece Braid 2

1 Carrot of tobacco 4

For ammunition 8

90 Brooches for the hair 3

For porcelain beads and large beads 2

½ Brasse tobacco for snuff 1

30

Return

May 21 Plus

To all the goods brought back [30]